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The Arabic Dialect of Sūsa (Tunisia)

By
FATHI TALMOUDI

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ABSTRACT

Title: The Arabic Dialect of Sūsa (Tunisia)

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A gap between Classical Arabic and the different dialects causes a very serious problem in the Arabic speaking countries. The first mentioned form is prestigious and practically the only language form considered in the Arab world to be worthy of serious study and linguistic care. The different dialects have been ignored due to many reasons, inter alia the variation of the different dialects.

The aim of this study is to fill a gap in Tunisian dialectology since there have been, when compared with other subjects, few studies devoted to colloquial Tunisian Arabic. The main task of this study is to give a precise linguistic description of the genuine dialect of Sūsa which is spoken in the old city, the Medina.

A structural and consistent description of the language spoken in the whole of modern Sūsa is impossible to achieve due to the population explosion and the violent immigration of the sixties and seventies. In this phonological and morphological study the description is, however, not solely based on the indisputable, genuine idiom of the old generation, but large consideration is given to the linguistic change which is reflected in the vernacular of the younger generation.

After the descriptive part, which is a synchronic description of the colloquial speech of the Medina of Sūsa, where segmental phonemes, suprasegmental features, phonological and morphophonological alternations, verbal system and nominal morphology are discussed in detail. A non-islamic Arabic dialect of the Jews in Tunis and another sedentary Western dialect (the dialect of Cherchell, Algeria) are compared with the dialect of Sūsa in order to show up their different linguistic characteristics. Finally the last part of the study is devoted to particularize the different Tunisian dialect groups and furthermore outline major dialect boundaries by using selected features of the dialects.

Key words: Phonology and Morphology, Semitic Linguistics, Arabic Dialectology, North African Dialects.

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Gothenburg, September 1979 Fathi Talmoudi

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Introduction

0.1 General

The gap between the written language and the different dialects (spoken vernaculars) causes a very serious problem in the Arabic speaking countries. The first-mentioned is prestigious and practically the only language form considered in the Arab world to be worthy of serious study and linguistic care. The different dialects had been ignored due to many reasons, inter alia the variation of the different dialects which had led to the general delusion that vernaculars have neither grammar nor rules. This argument is, naturally, wrong since each genuine dialect has a proper linguistic system, the structure of which can be compared with the structure of any other language form. In other words each genuine dialect has its own grammar which linguistically speaking is neither "better" nor "worse" than any other grammar.

The fact that the spoken dialects were prevented from playing the role of the official language in the Arab world depends on deep historical reasons, in the first place religious and national. Classical Arabic is the language of the Koran and the common language form which unifies all the Arab countries. This fact also has its drawbacks in the different countries. The North African population for example suffers from a very serious linguistic disease. Learning Classical Arabic at school is not the way to abolish illiteracy, thereby raising social standards. The North African countries urgently need a written form of spoken Arabic which allows the use of the different dialects at school and in daily administrative matters. Uneducated and semi-educated people must be able to write and read in their own mother tongue because it is *a priori* unjustified to ask them to leave their own dialect for the benefit of an unmastered and rather more complicated language. A deeper study of the Norwegian educational policy and school system would perhaps be of good help for the creating of such a written language form.

0.2 The Arabic dialects

The Arabic dialects can be roughly divided into two main groups: Western and Eastern. The boundary between these two groups can be drawn approximately from the Salum gulf on the East Egyptian border to lake Chad in North Central Africa. This geographical division should as any other dialect geography in the Arab world be completed with a further division based on the different cultural traditions, principally sedentary and nomadic. Compared with each other, the dialects reveal a certain individuality: phonological, morphological and syntactical peculiarities can be noticed in the different vernaculars. Phonologically the Western dialects differ from the Eastern ones e.g. by the loss of short vowels in initial open syllables, which is due to different accent patterns, and the complete disappearence of the stop /ʔ/. Morphologically there are features which can be considered to be typical of the Western dialects such as the presence of the prefix /nV/ in the first person singular of the imperfect, replacing the prefix /ʔV/ in Old Arabic. The suffix /u/ in the imperfect in the first person plural, and the new verb form *fʕa:l* (e.g. */kẖa:l/* 'he has become black') are also typical Western features.

0.3 The Tunisian dialects

The Tunisian dialects can be roughly divided into four main groups:

The Sāḫil dialects

They are of two main types: urban and semi-urban. The semi-urban dialects spoken in small villages as Ksibet Sūsa and Khnis display features of both nomadic and sedentary dialects.

The Northern dialects

They can also be divided into two types: urban and rural. The villagers on the left side of Oued Medjerda speak so-called ʒba:li-dialects (mountain dialects) which have features in common with North East Algerian vernaculars.

The Central Western dialects

They are subdivided into two groups: rural and nomadic. The rural dialects resemble in several respects the East Arabic dialects.

The Southern dialects

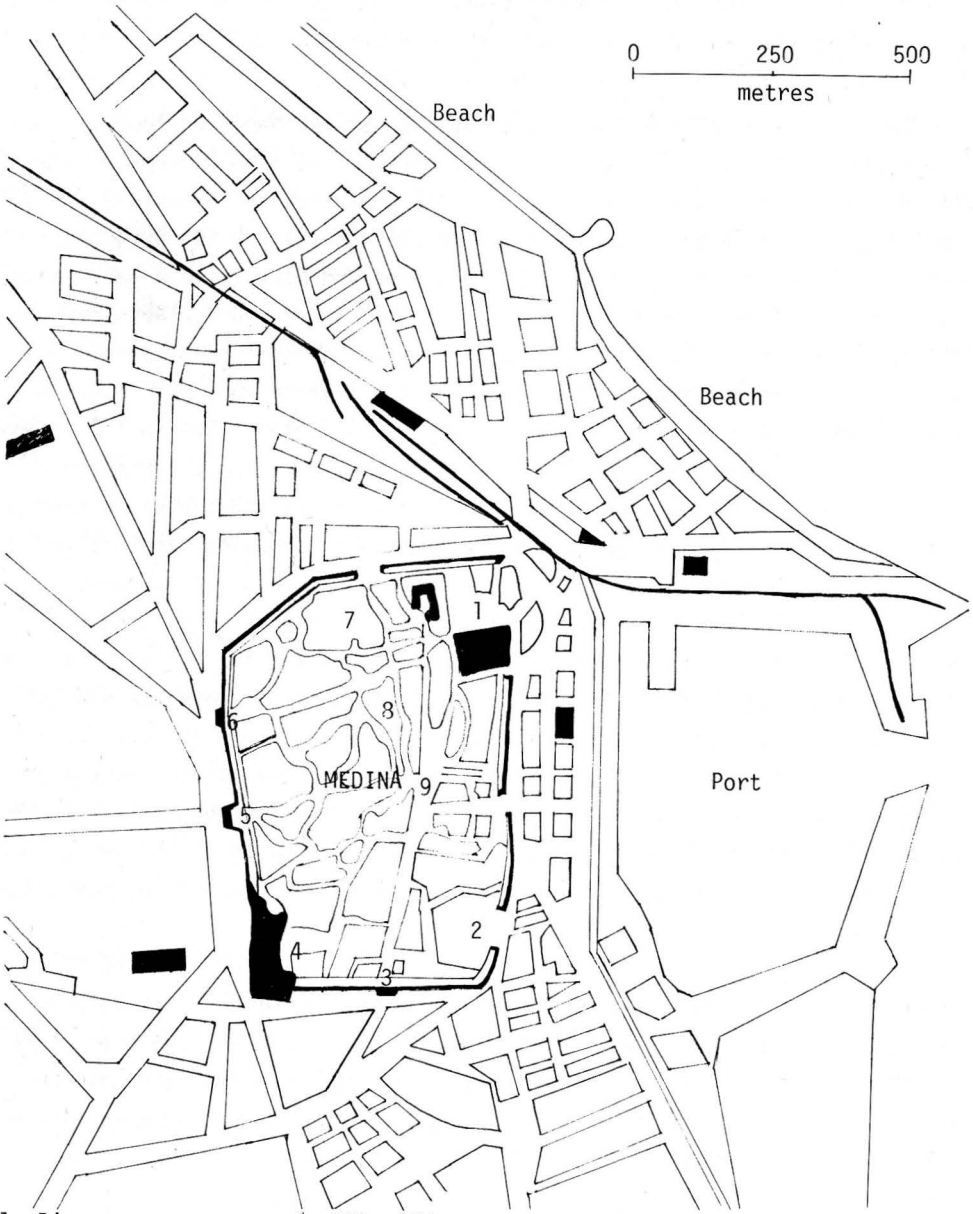
They are divided into three main groups: urban dialects i Sfax, rural in the oases and nomadic. The latter is spoken by semi-pastoral people in Sahara.

0.4 Sūsa (Sousse)

The Phoenicians established a port in Sūsa of an unknown name long before their final settlement in Carthage. Later it got the name Hadrumatum that the Roman emperor Trajan changed to Colonia Ulpia Trajana Augusta Frigifura Hadrumatina. The Vandals named the town Hurinicopolis and the Byzantines Justiniana. The Arabs gave it its present name and made it to a very important religious centre which attained its zenith under the Aghlabid dynasty at the beginning of the ninth century. The Arabs built the walls and gave the old city its present boundaries. Since the seventh century and up to the end of the nineteenth only Muslims were allowed to reside in the Medina. Jews and other minorities lived around the city. The majority of merchants settled near the famous market Sūq Irrbaʿ which attracted the villagers who used to buy or sell their goods. Due to the limited housing possibility, outsiders who worked in the city were obliged to live in other places such as Sahlūl and Ḥammām Sūsa. The isolation of the inhabitants of Sūsa was mainly guaranteed by the Bourgeoisie who possessed all the buildings in the Medina and strictly controlled all kinds of immigration. Marriage was the only way to settlement. This system made it very difficult for merchants from bigger cities to settle in Sūsa. At the end of the nineteenth century it became easier for Jews and villagers to live or to possess a shop in the Medina. This did not however affect the old dialect of Sūsa. The immigrants tried of recent years to learn the genuine dialect in order to become integrated to the society.

The population explosion and the violent immigration of the sixties and seventies made of Sūsa a big town with 192.000 inhabitants, while the figure of 1962 was only 50.000. This radical change affected mostly the environments of the city in spite of the infiltration of villagers in many places in the Medina which now has about 40.000 inhabitants.

Sūsa



1 Big mosque
2 ɜabbānit elGhorba
3 Bāb elqibli
4 Qaşba
5 Bāb elGharbi
6 Bāb elFinga
7 ElMasniᶜ
8 Irraḫba
9 Sūq Irrbaᶜ

0.5 The aim, corpus and method of the study

The main task of the present study is to give a precise linguistic description of the genuine dialect of Sūsa which is spoken in the old city, the Medina. A structural and consistent description of the language spoken in the whole modern Sūsa is impossible to achieve due to the above-mentioned development in the town during the last two decades. It is of course always a difficult task to decide whether a language form is genuine or not, but I proceeded from the definition that genuineness can be defined in terms of the nature of the linguistic development. As far as the direction of the development substantially is determined by the innerdialectal trend, we can call a given dialect genuine. As soon as the development is due substantially to outside interference, the dialect - for some time, at least - ceases to be a wholly autonomous linguistic structure.

In this study I have not, however, solely based the description on the indisputable, genuine idiom of the old generation but have also considered the linguistic change which is reflected in the vernacular of the younger generation. After the descriptive part I shall with the support of the accessible dialect material particularize the different Tunisian dialect groups and furthermore outline major dialect boundaries by using selected features of the dialects. A non-islamic Arabic dialect, i.e. the Arabic dialect of the Jews in Tunis and an other sedentary Western dialect (the dialect of Cherchell, Algeria) will also be compared with the dialect of Sūsa in order to show up their different linguistic characteristics.

This study is based on the colloquial speech of the Medina of Sūsa and the other Tunisian dialects. The material of the study was gathered in three parts. The first part was recorded in Sūsa while the second part was recorded in Gothenburg in Sweden. The informants in Sūsa came from three different districts, namely, Irraḫba, Bab elGharbi and elMasniᶜ. During the two months July and August 1978 the author, who was born in Sūsa and lived there until 1974, did intensive work with about twenty informants whose age varied between twelve and seventy years. Both sexes were equally represented. During the same period he had the opportunity to speak with people of a wide range of social status and at the same time make linguistic observations. The recordings consist of anecdotes, tales, personal narratives and local popular songs. The informants in Sweden also came from Sūsa and lived in the Medina before they moved to Gothenburg. The author took different precautions to insure that the speakers used genuinely colloquial speech.

The recordings made here consist of set sentences, discussions and answers to the author's questions. The third part was recorded during the months June, July and August 1979. The author traveled round Tunisia and did intensive work with many informants living in different places in the country. The recordings consist of anecdotes, tales, personal narratives, popular songs and answers to the author's questions.

0.6 Previous studies

The aim of this study is to fill a gap in Tunisian dialectology since there have been, when compared with other subjects, few studies devoted to colloquial Tunisian Arabic. The Tunisian dialects have long remained almost unstudied. In 1896, STUMME published 'Grammatik des tunisischen Arabisch nebst Glossar' which is the first linguistic description of Tunisian Arabic. W. MARÇAIS and A. GUIGA published (1925) a collection of folk tales and songs from Takroûna. 'Trois textes arabes d'El-Ḥâmma de Gabès' (1931-1933) consists of Arabic texts collected by W. MARÇAIS and J. FARÈS. BACCOUCHE's 'Description phonologique du parler arabe de Djemmal', is a phonological description of the dialect spoken in Djemmal with texts and translations. The dialect of Gabès has been studied by CANTINEAU (1951) and by H. SKIK (1969). The collection of texts of D. COHEN 'Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis' (1964) and the linguistic study of the same dialect published later (1975) are available. Besides, there are some other general articles such as BORRMAN's (1969) 'A propos d'une nouvelle grammaire arabe tunisienne', SKIK's 'Les problèmes linguistiques en Tunisie' (1969), 'Une enquête statistique sur le vocabulaire de l'enfant tunisien' (1972) and BACCOUCHE's 'Le phonème /g/ dans les parlers arabes citadins de Tunisie' (1972). Finally a recent study on Tunisian Arabic is the American-style book by M. MAAMOURI 'The phonology of Tunisian Arabic' (1968) which is a synchronic description of present-day educated colloquial Tunisian Arabic. The study was primarily based on the author's dialect, the dialect spoken in Nabeul. Segmental phonemes, suprasegmental features and morphophonological alternations were discussed in detail.

0.7 Symbolism

As far as possible the terms and the transcriptions of the International Phonetic Alphabet are used. The following symbols have the indicated values:

/ / = phoneme, allomorph
[ ] = phone
{ } = morpheme
C = any consonant
V = any vowel
: = length
~ = alternation

Emphasis is indicated by the symbol ~ under the pertinent consonants. With Classical Arabic the author means Old Arabic as described by old Grammarians.

Segmental phonemes

The consonants

ء ʔ a voiceless laryngal stop
ب b a voiced bilabial stop
ت t a voiceless dental stop
ث θ a voiceless interdental fricative
ج ʒ a voiced palatoalveolar fricative or [dʒ] a prepalatal affricate
ح ḥ a voiceless pharyngal fricative
خ x a voiceless uvular fricative
د d a voiced dental stop
ذ ð a voiced interdental fricative
ر r a voiced alveolar trill
ز z a voiced postdental fricative
س s a voiceless postdental fricative
ش ʃ a voiceless front palatal fricative
ص ṣ a voiceless emphatic postdental fricative
ض ḍ a voiced emphatic interdental fricative
ط ṭ a voiceless emphatic alveolar stop
ظ ẓ a voiced emphatic interdental fricative
ع ʿ a voiced pharyngal fricative
غ ɣ a voiced uvular fricative
ف f a voiceless labiodental fricative
ق q a voiceless uvular stop
g a voiced velar stop
ك k a voiceless velar stop
ل l a voiced dental lateral
م m a voiced bilabial nasal
ن n a voiced postdental nasal
ه h a voiceless laryngal fricative

ﻭ w a voiced labial semi-vowel

ﻱ y a voiced palatal semi-vowel

The vowels

i close front

ü close rounded front

e half close front

ɛ half open front

a open front

ɑ open back

ə central half open half close

o half close back

u close back

Phonology and Phonotactics

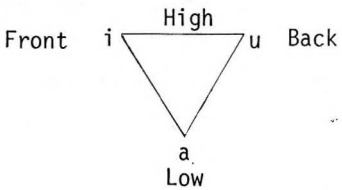
I THE PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

1.1.1 The vowel system

The dialect of Sūsa has, as Classical Arabic, three vowel phonemes, namely /a/, /i/ and /u/.[1]

Figure 1: The vowel phonemes



Due to the fact that it does not have more than three vowel phonemes the dialect has many allophones which occur depending on the surrounding consonants. The phoneme /a/ has allophones [a],[ɑ] , [ɛ] and [e]. The allophones [a],[ɑ] , and [ɛ] also occur as long vowels.

[ʔarbi] : Arab
[rab:i] : my God
[rɑqba] : neck
[mɛrkəb] : boat
[terkib] : you ride
[ʔa:lim] : scholar
[qɑ:ʔüd] : sitting
[nɛ:fiʔ] : useful

---

[1] The dialect of El-Ḥâmma has three short vowel phonemes and five long ones, see CANTINEAU, Analyse phonologique du parler d'El-Ḥâmma de Gabès, pp. 216-219. In the Jewish dialect in Tunis there are as many vowel phonemes as in the dialect of Sūsa, see D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, II p. 50.

The phoneme /u/ has allophones [u] and [o] . Both allophones can be short and long:

[kul:] : any
[ktub] : books
[nqoṣ] : it was reduced
[mɛktu:b] : destiny
[marṣo:ṣ] : crowded

The phoneme /i/ has allophones [i] and [ü] . Both allophones can be long and short:

[min] : from
[tɛ:ʒir] : merchant
[ḫüb:] : love (imp.)
[rki:k] : stupid
[sḫü:ḫ] : strong, right

The dialect of Sūsa has then three vowel phonemes and eight allophones. The short vowels, especially /i/ and /u/, frequently also /a/ are dropped in open unstressed syllables in most Arabic sedentary dialects, the last-mentioned vowel, however, most often only after a total or partial assimilation to the vowel of the next syllable (vowel harmony), e.g. CiCa:C>CCa:C, CuCa:C>CCa:C, CaCi:C>CiCi:C/CəCi:C>CCi:C.

/kita:b/ : book > */kta:b/*
/tura:b/ : sand > */tra:b/*
/qari:b/ : near > */qri:b/*

The loss of short vowels in unstressed open syllables is quite frequent in all the Tunisian dialects. Thus the older */qarub/* (cf. Cl. qaruba) yields */qrub/* in the dialect of Sūsa.

/haraba/ : to run away > */hrab/* (CaCàC>CCaC)
/katiba/ : to write > */ktib/* (CaCɪC>CCiC)

/a/ - /i/
/qaḡ:a/ : a cloth
/qiḡ:a/ : a fairy tale
/a/ - /u/
/rad:/ : he answered
/rud:/ : answer (imp.)

/i/ - /u/

/qiʒ:/ : tell (imp.)

/quʒ:/ : cut (imp.)

/a:/ - /i:/

/ɣa:r/ : he got jealous

/ɣi:r/ : else than

/a:/ - /u:/

/qa:m/ : he got up

/qu:m/ : get up (imp.)

/i:/ - /u:/

/ʒi:f/ : summer

/ʒu:f/ : wool

The dialect of Sūsa has, as Classical Arabic, two falling diphthongs, /aw/ and /ay/. In Sūsa the older diphthongs have normally been preserved in final position, where their second component is doubled when preceded by a short /a/. Medially and initially the older /aw/ and /ay/ have been normally monophthongised into /u:/ and /i:/ respectively.[2]

[ẖay:] : living

[ẖaw:] : light

[ɣü:ra] (</ɣayra/) : jealousy

[tu:qü:f] (</tawqi:f/) : stopping

1.1.2 The consonant system

Stops

Labial consonants

/b/ - /t/

/ba:b/ : door

/ta:b/ : he repented

/b/ - /ṯ/

/bra/ : he got cured

/ṯra/ : it became soft

/b/ - /d/

/bha:yim/ : donkeys

/dha:yim/ : stupid people

[2] See p. 55 below.

/b/ - /k/

/*ba:s*/ : he kissed

/*ka:s*/ : glass

/b/ - /q/

/*ba:l*/ : he urinated

/*qa:l*/ : he said

/b/ - /f/

/*bu:q*/ : loudspeaker

/*fu:q*/ : over

In spite of the following oppositions [b̰] cannot be considered as an independent phoneme.

[lbɛ:bɛ] : soft inside of bread

[lb̰a:ba] : to my father

[bɛ:ʃ] : shall (a morpheme indicating future)

[b̰a:ʃ̰] : material used as a shelter

Pharyngalization is in this particular case used as a non-contrastive distributional feature in order to distinguish between homonyms. Since the shift from [b̰] to [b] normally does not influence the meaning of the word, [b̰] can most properly be defined as an allophone of /b/.

Dental consonants

/t/ - /d/

/*tal:*/ : iron wire

/*dal:*/ : he showed the way

/t/ - /t̰/

/*ta:b*/ : he repented

/*t̰a:b*/ : it cooked ready

/t/ - /k/

/*ta:yib*/ : repenter

/*ka:yib*/ : someone bored

/t/ - /q/

/*yti:m*/ : orphan

/*yqi:m*/ : he carries

/t/ - /f/

/*ta:q*/ : he endured

/*fa:q*/ : he woke up

/t/ - /θ/

/*ta:yib*/ : repenter

/*θa:yib*/ : benefactor

/d/ - /t̰/

/dub:/ : bear

/t̰ub:/ : medicine

/d/ - /k/

/dab:ir/ : think (imp.)

/kab:ir/ : make it bigger (imp.)

/d/ - /q/

/dub:a/ : bear (female)

/qub:a/ : dome

/d/ - /θ/

/da:r/ : house

/θa:r/ : he revolted

/d/ - /ð̰/

/dab:/ : he went slowly

/ð̰ab:/ : he jumped

Alveolar consonants

/t̰/ - /k/

/t̰ab:a/ : a piece of land

/kab:a/ : a throw

/t̰/ - /q/

/t̰alˤa/ : hill, slope

/qalˤa/ : fort

/t̰/ - /f/

/t̰al:iq/ : divorce (imp.)

/ʃal:iq/ : slash (imp.)

/t̰/ - /θ/

/t̰i:qa/ : troublesome

/θi:qa/ : honest

/t̰/ - /ð̰/

/t̰a:b/ : it cooked ready

/ða:b/ : it melted

/t̰/ - /ð̰/

/t̰baˤ/ : character

/ð̰baˤ/ : wild cat

Velar consonants

/k/ - /q/

/*kub:a*/ : yarn

/*qub:a*/ : dome

/k/ - /ʃ/

/*kma:l*/ : perfection

/*ʃma:l*/ : left

/k/ - /x/

/*kra:m*/ : fig-trees

/*xra:m*/ : sewage

/g/ has the same point of articulation as /k/ but is accompanied by the vibration of the vocal cords. In the dialect of Sūsa it occurs frequently, but in the genuine dialect of the older generation in the Medina its occurrence is restricted to a limited number (about 30) of lexical items suspect of being old loans from the dialect of the countryside. Such words are, e.g. [gdim] 'he bit', [gdif] 'he vomited', [dɛg:] 'he stuck' and [mrüg:] 'he was made a fool of'. In other lexical items it is regarded as negligent and ill-mannered to use [g]. Instead, most of the speakers in the older generation and women in particular, consistently use [q] or [k]. In some cases there are differences between the two last groups too. Thus [gɛmi:lɛ] 'food keeper' (which is the current form of the word in the suburbs and among the younger generation) is pronounced [kɛmi:lɛ] by the majority of women and [qɑmi:lɛ] by all men in the older generation in the Medina.

Generally it can be noticed that [g] up till now has been infiltrated into the vernacular of the Medina to a little extent only. In the new suburbs, on the other hand, [g] is relatively as frequent as /k/ and /q/ in many lexical items, no doubt due to the mass immigration of villagers from the countryside in the fifties. Boys of the younger generation in the Medina tend to replace [q] by [g] in most lexical items in order to appear as tough. (A sociolinguistic phenomenon related to slang.)

Now it might seem uncertain whether or not [g] could be defined as an independent phoneme in the genuine dialect of the Medina of Sūsa. Even if the lexical items where it is used by women and speakers in the older generation most probably are loans from dialects having the phoneme /g/, the relatively high number of words where the pronunciation of [g] is well-established, justifies, in my opinion, the definition of /g/ as an independent phoneme.

/*gdim*/	: he bit	/*qdim*/	: it became older
/*gdif*/	: he vomited	/*qdif*/	: he rowed
/*gru:ɳ*/	: horns	/*qru:ɳ*/	: centuries

/*gurbi*/ : hut /*qurbi*/ : my nearness

/*dag:*/ : he stuck /*daq:*/ : he knocked

In the old genuine dialect [q] and [g] are in lexical distribution; in the koineized 'Sūsi' of the suburbs and of the younger generation the pattern is changed: [g] is rather a stylistic variant of [q] and can replace it anywhere, whereas the /g/ in early loans cannot be replaced by /q/.

/g/ - /b/

/*ri:ga*/ : salive

/*ri:ba*/ : personality

/g/ - /t/

/*gan:ariy:a*/: artichoke

/*tan:ariy:a*/: hut

/g/ - /d/

/*ri:ga*/ : salive

/*ri:da*/ : a big change

/g/ - /ṭ/

/*galba*/ : twenty litres

/*ṭalba*/ : request

/g/ - /k/

/*gasba*/ : bamboo-cane

/*kasba*/ : a purchase

/g/ - /q/

/*gru:n*/ : horns

/*qru:n*/ : centuries

/g/ - /f/

/*gurbi*/ : hut

/*furbi*/ : private plans

/g/ - /θ/

/*gu:m*/ : rubber

/*θu:m*/ : garlic

/g/ - /ð/

/*ʿga:b*/ : falcon

/*ʿða:b*/ : torture

/g/ - /ḏ/

/*gid:*/ : make it good (imp.)

/*ḏid:*/ : contrary

/g/ - /s/

/*ga:nid*/ : hidden

/*sa:nid*/ : support (imp.)

/g/ - /ʂ/

/ga:yid/ : governor

/ʂa:yid/ : hunting

/g/ - /z/

/gitu:n/ : tent

/zitu:n/ : olives

/g/ - /ʒ/

/gli:l/ : rare

/ʒli:l/ : respected

/g/ - /ʃ/

/gurbi/ : hut

/ʃurbi/ : my wine

/g/ - /x/

/gdim/ : he bit

/xdim/ : he worked

/g/ - /ɣ/

/gasba/ : bamboo-cane

/ɣasba/ : an obligation

/g/ - /ʿ/

/ga:nid/ : hidden

/ʿa:nid/ : be obstinate (imp.)

/g/ - /ḫ/

/ri:ga/ : salive

/ri:ḫa/ : odour

/g/ - /h/

/gurbi/ : hut

/hurbi/ : my flight

/g/ - /m/

/gid:/ : make it good (imp.)

/mid:/ : take out (imp.)

/g/ - /n/

/ga:di/ : fix (imp.)

/na:di/ : call (imp.)

/g/ - /r/

/gdim/ : he bit

/rdim/ : he buried

/g/ - /l/

/gu:m/ : rubber

/lu:m/ : reproach

/g/ - /w/

/*gid:*/ : make it good (imp.)

/*wid:*/ : give something good (imp.)

/g/ - /y/

/*gid:*/ : make it good (imp.)

/*yid:*/ : hand

Uvular consonants

/g/ - /x/

/*qirba*/ : waterskin

/x*irba*/ : ruins

/g/ - /ɣ/

/*yaqli*/ : he is frying something

/*yaɣli*/ : he is boiling (angry)

/g/ - /ḫ/

/*ga:l*/ : he said

/*ḫa:l*/ : state

Fricatives

Labiodental consonants

/f/ - /θ/

/*fa:r*/ : rat

/θ*a:r*/ : he revolted

/f/ - /ð/

/*fa:t*/ : he passed by

/ð*a:t*/ : originality, essence

/f/ - /ḏ/

/*fna*/ : he worked himself to death

/ḏ*na*/ : baby

/f/ - /s/

/*fu:q*/ : over

/*su:q*/ : market

/f/ - /ṣ/

/*fuk:ni*/ : let me loose (imp.)

/ṣ*uk:ni*/ : kick me (imp.)

/f/ - /ʒ/

/*fna*/ : he worked himself to death

/ʒ*na*/ : he harvested

/θ/ - /z/

/iθ:a:ni/ : the second

/iz:a:ni/ : the adulterer

/θ/ - /ʒ/

/θa:yir/ : revolting

/ʒa:yir/ : suffering from indigestion

/θ/ - /ʃ/

/θahlu:l/ : (skin) eruption

/ʃahlu:l/ : sweet (adj.)

/θ/ - /x/

/θa:yib/ : benefactor

/xa:yib/ : dishonest

/θ/ - /ɣ/

/θni/ : a two-year old animal

/ɣni/ : rich

/θ/ - /ʿ/

/θa:r/ : he revolted

/ʿa:r/ : shame

/θ/ - /h/

/θna:ya/ : roads

/hna:ya/ : my happiness

/θ/ - /ḫ/

/θni:n/ : two

/ḫni:n/ : merciful

/θ/ - /m/

/θray:a/ : pendant lamp

/mray:a/ : wife (dim.)

/ð/ - /ḏ/

/ða:yiʿ/ : loud-voiced

/ḏa:yiʿ/ : lost

/ð/ - /s/

/ðab:/ : he jumped

/sab:/ : he swore

/ð/ - /z/

/ðal:a/ : shame

/zal:a/ : mistake

/ð/ - /ʒ/

/ða:b/ : it melted

/ʒa:b/ : he brought

/f/ - /ʃ/

/fal:/ : he collapsed

/ʃal:/ : he got diarrhea

/f/ - /x/

/fa:l/ : prediction of bad news

/xa:l/ : maternal uncle

/f/ - /ɣ/

/fal:a/ : jasmine

/ɣal:a/ : fruit

/f/ - /ˁ/

/fa:r/ : rat

/ˁa:r/ : shame

/f/ - /h/

/fna/ : he worked himself to death

/hna/ : happiness

/f/ - /ḥ/

/fan:/ : art

/ḥan:/ : he became merciful

/f/ - /m/

/farð̰/ : obligation

/marð̰/ : illness

/f/ - /n/

/fa:s/ : pick (axe)

/na:s/ : people

Interdental consonants

/θ/ - /ð/

/θa:yib/ : almsgiver

/ða:yib/ : melting

/θ/ - /ð̰/

/θna:ya/ : roads

/ð̰na:ya/ : my baby

/θ/ - /s/

/iθ:a:nya/ : the second (fem.)

/is:a:nya/ : the farm

/θ/ - /s̰/

/θu:m/ : garlic

/s̰u:m/ : fast (imp.)

/ð/ - /ʃ/

/ðiːb/ : wolf

/ʃiːb/ : old age

/ð/ - /x/

/ðabːa/ : a jump

/xabːa/ : he hid

/ð/ - /ɣ/

/ðalːa/ : shame

/ɣalːa/ : fruit

/ð/ - /ʿ/

/ðaːyiq/ : tasting

/ʿaːyiq/ : very troublesome

/ð/ - /h/

/yðib:/ : he jumps

/yhib:/ : it blows

/ð/ - /ẖ/

/ðab:/ : he jumped

/ẖab:/ : he loved

/ð/ - /n/

/ða:b/ : it melted

/na:b/ : incisor

/ǯ/ - /s/

/ǯna/ : baby

/sna/ : years

/ǯ/ - /ṣ/

/ǯiːf/ : guest

/ṣiːf/ : summer

/ǯ/ - /z/

/ǯnaːt/ : she got pregnant

/znaːt/ : she committed adultery

/ǯ/ - /ʒ/

/ǯna/ : baby

/ʒna/ : he harvested

/ǯ/ - /ʃ/

/ǯrab/ : he hit

/ʃrab/ : he drank

/ǯ/ - /x/

/ǯalʿa/ : rib

/xalʿa/ : door-brake

/ɓ/ - /ɣ/

/ɓna/ : baby

/ɣna/ : songs

/ɓ/ - /ʔ/

/ɓya:fa/ : hospitality

/ʔya:fa/ : sickness

/ɓ/ - /h/

/ɓna/ : baby

/hna/ : here

/ɓ/ - /ɦ/

/ɓni:t/ : I got pregnant

/ɦni:t/ : I became hunchbacked

/ɓ/ - /m/

/ɓar:a/ : a wife in a harem

/mar:a/ : once

/ɓ/ - /n/

/ɓa:biʔ/ : crazy

/na:biʔ/ : streaming

Dental consonants

/s/ - /ʂ/

/sab:/ : he swore

/ʂab:/ : he poured

/s/ - /z/

/sal:a/ : pull

/zal:a/ : mistake

/s/ - /ɜ/

/sra/ : it flowed

/ɜra/ : he ran

/s/ - /ʃ/

/star/ : he did not show, he concealed

/ʃtar/ : half

/s/ - /x/

/say:ib/ : he released

/xay:ib/ : he (made someone) disappointed

/s/ - /ɣ/

/sal:a/ : pull

/ɣal:a/ : fruit

/s/ - /ʔ/

/sal:if/ : lend (imp.)

/ʔal:if/ : feed (imp.)

/s/ - /h/

/sna/ : years

/hna/ : here

/s/ - /ḥ/

/sin:a/ : tooth

/ḥin:a/ : henna

/s/ - /m/

/sra/ : it flowed

/mra/ : woman

/s/ - /n/

/sa:yir/ : going

/na:yir/ : shining

/ʂ/ - /z/

/ʂaf:/ : queue

/zaf:/ : big liar

/ʂ/ - /ʒ/

/ʂar:/ : bundle

/ʒar:/ : trees

/ʂ/ - /ʃ/

/ʂa:yib/ : right (person)

/ʃa:yib/ : old man

/ʂ/ - /x/

/ʂa:yib/ : right (person)

/xa:yib/ : dishonest

/ʂ/ - /ɣ/

/ʂal:a/ : he prayed

/ɣal:a/ : fruit

/ʂ/ - /ʔ/

/ʂab:a/ : mould

/ʔab:a/ : he filled

/ʂ/ - /h/

/ʂa:yin/ : protector

/ha:yin/ : insignificant

/ʂ/ - /ḥ/

/ʂli:b/ : cross

/ḥli:b/ : milk

/ʂ/ - /m/
/ʂra:ya/ : house of flats
/mra:ya/ : mirror
/ʂ/ - /n/
/ʂu:r/ : surrounding wall
/nu:r/ : light

/z/ - /ʒ/
/za:ni/ : adulterer
/ʒa:ni/ : he came to me
/z/ - /ʃ/
/zal:/ : he made a mistake
/ʃal:/ : he got diarrhea
/z/ - /x/
/zaf:/ : big liar
/xaf:/ : he felt relieved
/z/ - /ɣ/
/zal:a/ : mistake
/ɣal:a/ : fruit
/z/ - /ʿ/
/za:yif/ : false
/ʿa:yif/ : sick
/z/ - /h/
/zna/ : adultery
/hna/ : here
/z/ - /ẖ/
/za:ni/ : adulterer
/ẖa:ni/ : hunchbacked
/z/ - /m/
/zi:t/ : oil
/mi:t/ : dead
/z/ - /n/
/za:yif/ : false
/na:yif/ : emaciated

There is also an emphatic variant of /z/ in the dialect of Sūsa but it cannot be regarded as a proper phoneme. That pharyngalisation here is not primarily due to the phonetic environments but is rather used in order to call forth certain stylistic effects, can be illustrated by following instances: [zdimt ʿli:h] 'I fell upon him' and [ẓdom ʿliy:ɛ] 'he fell upon me'.

Therefore pharyngalisation here is a suprasegmental feature. The stylistic context where it most often appears is the dramatising speech especially typical of female speakers[3]. Thus, the most usual pronunciation of the above-mentioned instance by men is [zdum ˤliy:ɛ].

Palatal consonants

/ʒ/ - /ʃ/

/ʒi:b/ : bring (imp.)

/ʃi:b/ : old age

/ʒ/ - /x/

/ʒa:yib/ : bringing

/xa:yib/ : dishonest

/ʒ/ - /ɣ/

/ʒa:b/ : he brought

/ɣa:b/ : he was absent

/ʒ/ - /ˤ/

/ʒna/ : he harvested

/ˤna/ : he cared

/ʒ/ - /h/

/ʒan:a/ : paradise

/han:a/ : he congratulated

/ʒ/ - /ḫ̲/

/ʒalwa/ : the bride's dance

/ḫ̲alwa/ : (a special kind of) sweet pastry

/ʒ/ - /m/

/ʒar:a/ : big jar

/mar:a/ : once

/ʒ/ - /n/

/ʒa:r/ : neighbour

/na:r/ : fire

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[3] SAADA in, Le language de femmes tunisiennes, noticed that women in Tunisia use emphatic consonants less frequently than men. This is however not the case in the dialect of Sūsa, where e.g. the contrast between [ṭ̲a:q] 'floor' and [tɛ:q] 'he held out' is fully rooted among all speakers.

/ʃ/ - /x/

/ʃi:ba/ : an impudent old man

/xi:ba/ : failure

/ʃ/ - /ɣ/

/ʃa:b/ : he became old

/ɣa:b/ : he was absent

/ʃ/ - /ʔ/

/ʃa:yib/ : old man

/ʔa:yib/ : lame

/ʃ/ - /h/

/ʃla:l/ : diarrhea

/hla:l/ : half-moon

/ʃ/ - /ħ̃/

/ʃfa:ya/ : my recovery

/ħ̃fa:ya/ : barefoot (pl.)

/ʃ/ - /m/

/ʃra/ : he bought

/mra/ : woman

/ʃ/ - /n/

/ʃa:b/ : he became old

/na:b/ : incisor

Uvular consonants

/x/ - /ɣ/

/xaʃ:/ : he came in

/ɣaʃ:/ : he cheated

/x/ - /ʔ/

/xa:l/ : maternal uncle

/ʔa:l/ : excellent

/x/ - /h/

/xa:yin/ : betrayer, traitor

/ha:yin/ : insignificant

/x/ - /ħ̃/

/xa:yif/ : scared

/ħ̃a:yif/ : thief

/x/ - /m/

/xal:/ : vinegar

/mal:/ : he became bored

/x/ - /n/
/xaʒ:/ : it lacked
/naʒ:/ : type

/ɣ/ - /ʕ/
/ɣa:li/ : dear
/ʕa:li/ : high
/ɣ/ - /h/
/ɣna/ : songs
/hna/ : here
/ɣ/ - /ḫ/
/ɣan:a/ : he sang
/ḫan:a/ : grandmother
/ɣ/ - /m/
/ɣal:a/ : fruit
/mal:a/ : boredom
/ɣ/ - /n/
/ɣa:r/ : he got jealous
/na:r/ : fire

Pharyngal consonants
/ʕ/ - /h/
/ʕlik/ : he got fast
/hlik/ : he destroyed
/ʕ/ - /ḫ/
/ʕil:a/ : illness
/ḫil:a/ : chaos
/ʕ/ - /m/
/ʕil:a/ : illness
/mil:a/ : race
/ʕ/ - /n/
/ʕa:r/ : shame
/na:r/ : fire

/ḫ/ - /h/
/ḫla:l/ : permissible (and good)
/hla:l/ : half-moon
/ḫ/ - /m/
/ḫa:li/ : my state
/ma:li/ : my money

/ḫ/ - /n/

/ḫs̰arni/ : he got me (in a corner)

/ns̰arni/ : he rendered me victorious

Laryngal consonants

/h/ - /m/

/ha:yil/ : wonderful

/ma:yil/ : inclined

/h/ - /n/

/hafhaf/ : he became scared

/nafnaf/ : he sniffed

/h/ - /r/

/hu:ma/ : they

/ru:ma/ : Rome

/h/ - /l/

/haz:/ : he took up

/laz:/ : he drove (someone) to do something

/h/ - /w/

/hiz:ha/ : take her up (imp.)

/wiz:ha/ : her geese

/h/ - /y/

/ra:h/ : he saw him

/ra:y/ : view

Nasals

Labial consonants

/m/ - /b/

/mla/ : he filled

/bla/ : troublesome

/m/ - /t/

/marfaʳ/ : shelf

/tarfaʳ/ : you lift up

/m/ - /d/

/mal:/ : he became bored

/dal:/ : he showed the way

/m/ - /t̰/

/mra/ : woman

/t̰ra/ : it became soft

/m/ - /k/

/*mra*/ : woman

/*kra*/ : rent

/m/ - /q/

/*mla:t*/ : she filled

/*qla:t*/ : she fried

/m/ - /r/

/*ma:ʒil*/ : well, cistern

/*ra:ʒil*/ : man

/m/ - /l/

/*mal:a*/ : boredom

/*lal:a*/ : my older sister, (can also be used in addressing a lady)

/m/ - /w/

/*mar:a*/ : once

/*war:a*/ : he showed

/m/ - /y/

/*madfaˤ*/ : cannon

/*yadfaˤ*/ : he pays

There is also an emphatic [m̰] but it can most properly be regarded as an allophone of /m/ in spite of the following opposition:

[ɛmɛ:n] : peace, safety

[am̰a:n̰] : indeed! (interjection of astonishment)

Pharyngalisation is used here in order to produce a minimal allophonic contrast between the two homonyms. Normally the shift from [m̰] to [m] does not influence the meaning of the word.

Dental consonants

/n/ - /b/

/*nra*/ : I see

/*bra*/ : he recovered

/n/ - /t/

/*nirkib*/ : I ride

/*tirkib*/ : you ride

/n/ - /d/

/*na:yim*/ : asleep

/*da:yim*/ : eternal

/n/ - /t̰/

/*na:yib*/ : merciful (referring to God)

/*t̰a:yib*/ : ripe

/n/ - /k/

/nfa/ : he denied

/kfa/ : it was enough

/n/ - /q/

/na:m/ : he slept

/qa:m/ : he woke up

/n/ - /r/

/na:fiˤ/ : useful

/ra:fiˤ/ : lifting up

/n/ - /l/

/na:yiẖ/ : crying, wailing

/la:yiẖ/ : obvious

/n/ - /w/

/nra:k/ : I see you

/wra:k/ : behind you

/n/ - /y/

/niẖlib/ : I milk

/yiẖlib/ : he milks

Vibrants

Dental consonants

/r/ - /l/

/rab:i/ : my God

/lab:i/ : say yes (imp.)

/r/ - /w/

/ra:ˤi/ : shepherd

/wa:ˤi/ : conscious

/r/ - /y/

/ru:m/ : rum

/yu:m/ : day

There is an emphatic [r̰] but it is not a proper phoneme in spite of the following opposition:

[ẖr̰a:m] : evil

[ẖr̰ɛ:m] : veil

The opposition occurs in one single position and forms only one minimal pair. In many idiolects, the opposition is missing, and [ẖr̰a:m] denotes both 'evil' and 'veil'.

Laterals

Dental consonants
/l/ - /w/
/wa:qif/ : standing up
/la:qif/ : snatching
/l/ - /y/
/la:bis/ : wearing
/ya:bis/ : hard, dry

Semi-vowels
/w/ - /y/
/waqra/ : pimple
/yaqra/ : he reads

/y/ - /w/
See /w/ above.

1.1.3 Conclusion

According to the phoneme identification the dialect of the Medina of Sūsa has the following consonant phonemes:

Front consonants

Labials:	b m w
Labiodental:	f
Interdentals:	θ ð ǰ[4]
Dentals:	t d s ʂ z n l
Alveolars:	ʈ ʒ r
Palatals:	y ʃ

Back consonants

Velars:	k g
Uvulars:	q x ɣ
Pharyngals:	ʕ ḥ
Laryngal:	h

[4] The interdentals disappeared in most sedentary dialects but occur in the Sāḥil dialects and in the vernacular of Tunis, see CANTINEAU, Cours de phonétique arabe, p. 44.

Thus, the number of consonant phonemes in the dialect of Sūsa is 27, viz. one less than in Classical Arabic. The older inventory of consonant phonemes - such as reflected, for instance, by Classical Arabic - has been reduced by two: the older /ʔ/ has disappeared, and the two older phonemes represented by the graphemes §ḍ§ and §ẓ§ have merged into /ð̰/. On the other hand, the inventory of consonant phonemes has been increased by /g/. The lateralized allophone [ð̰ˡ] occurring quite often among men in the older generation may be compared with the Classical prepalatal lateralized fricative /ǧ/.[5] The most usual allophone of /ʒ/ in the dialect of Sūsa is an alveopalatal fricative and corresponds to the Classical prepalatal /dʒ/.

The inventory might be increased by further consonant phonemes, but these are, in my opinion, not pertinent to the phonemic system of the dialect. In theory, any consonant contrasting with another in at least one minimal pair could be defined as an independent phoneme, but this solution seems to me unsatisfactory. As far as the concept of the phoneme has been introduced to describe the phonemic structure of a language or a dialect, it also should be defined in terms of pertinence.[6] The question wether or not to include a consonant among the independent phonemes should not be solved irrespective of the frequency of its occurrence. Thus, e.g. any emphatic sound should contrast minimally with its non-emphatic counterpart in more than two pairs of lexical items in order to be considered as phonemically distinctive. An emphatic can appropriately be called primary when it is considered as sufficiently distinctive whereas the emphatics having a very low statistical rate of occurrence and maximally forming two minimal pairs can be called secondary. The emphasis in [b̰], [m̰] and [r̰] can most properly be regarded as secondary since it depends on the characteristic properties in the acoustic effect of the vowels. The acoustic and articulatory properties of the vowels affect the quality of the adjoining consonants. The pharyngalisation of [b̰] in [lb̰a:ba] is likely to be due to the strange behaviour of the [a] allophone of /a/. Thus emphasis is the only feature which distinguishes /s̰/, /ð̰/ and /t̰/ from /s/, /ð/ and /t/ respectively. The secondary emphatics [m̰], [b̰] and [r̰] differ from the emphatics /s̰/, /ð̰/ and /t̰/ in distribution. The primary emphatics occur freely in all positions and with all vowels while the secondary emphatics (in lexical items without /s̰/, /ð̰/ and /t̰/) are combinatorily limited and occur only with [a].

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[5] Cf, CANTINEAU, Cours de phonétique arabe, p. 55.

[6] The same solution was adopted by PALVA, Lower Galilean Arabic, p. 11.

/s̰/

/s̰a:m/ : he fasted
/s̰u:f/ : wool
/s̰i:f/ : summer
/qs̰ar/ : castle
/qs̰u:r/ : castles
/bs̰i:r/ : blind
/mqas̰:/ : scissors
/mus̰:/ : suck (imp.)
/qis̰:/ : tell (imp.)

/ð̰/

/ð̰a:ᵖ/ : he got lost
/ð̰ɯm:/ : close (imp.)
/ð̰i:f/ : guest
/mð̰ay:aᵖ/ : losing, fool
/marð̰/ : disease

/t̰/

/t̰a:h̰/ : he fell down
/t̰ub:/ : medicine
/t̰i:h̰/ : fall down (imp.)
/mt̰ar/ : rain
/ʃat̰:/ : beach

/b/

/ba:ʃ/ : material used as a shelter ~shall
/lba:ba/ : soft inside of bread ~to my father

/m/

/ɑma:n/ : peace, safety ~indeed

/r/

/h̰ra:m/ : evil ~ veil

Among the various alternative analyses of emphasis[7], the author, due to the above-mentioned reasons, prefers the analysis rejecting the secondary emphatics as proper phonemes.

[7] For a brief summary and fair exposition of most of the existing analyses of emphasis, see LEHN, Emphasis in Cairo Arabic, and MAAMOURI, Phonology of Tunisian Arabic, pp. 41-43.

Figure 2: The consonant phonemes in the dialect of Sūsa

		Bilabial	Labiodental	Interdental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngal	Laryngal
Stops	voiced...	b			d			g			
	voiceless				t	ʦ		k	q		
Fricatives	voiced...			ð ʒ	z		ʒ		ɣ	ʕ	
	voiceless		f	θ	s ʃ		ʃ		x	ħ	h
Nasals.....		m			n						
Lateral.....					l						
Trill.....						r					
Semi-vowels.....		w					y				

Figure 3: The consonant phonemes of Classical Arabic[8]

		Bilabial	Labiodental	Interdental	Dental	Prepalatal	Postpalatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngal	Laryngal
Stops	voiced...	b			d (ḍ)	ḍ					
	voiceless				t ʦ		k	q			ʔ
Fricatives	voiced...			ð ʒ	z	dʒ		ɣ		ʕ	
	voiceless		f	θ	s ʃ	ʃ		x		ħ	h
Nasals.....		m			n						
Lateral.....						l					
Trill.....						r					
Semi-vowels.....		w				y					

[8] This table is made in accordance with CANTINEAU's description in his Cours de phonétique arabe, pp. 19-88. The author has taken the liberty of changing the transcription used by CANTINEAU.

1.2 PROSODY

The prosodic features include duration, stress, intonation and emphasis. In the dialect of Sūsa and Arabic in general, duration is the most important from the phonological point of view.

1.2.1 Duration

There are two distinctive quantities: short and long. Both can occur freely, and independently of each other in any consonant and vowel sequence in a word.

VC.CVC	[ɛrnɛb]	: rabbit
CV:C	[qɑ:l]	: he said
CVC:	[mɛl:]	: he became bored
CV:C:	[qɑ:s̰:]	: cutting

1.2.2 Stress

There are two distinguishable degrees of stress: primary and secondary. Each word has a so-called stressable syllable which receives the primary stress. The location of stress is affected by the number and the type of the syllables in the word. A monosyllabic word receives primary stress. Dissyllabic and polysyllabic words get both primary and secondary stress. The following rules explain the application of stress in the dialect of Sūsa.

1.2.2.1

If a word is made up of a string of syllables with a short vowel, i.e. V, CV, CVC, CCV, CCVC, CVCC, CCVCC, CCCVC or CCCVCC, the first syllable receives the primary (ˋ) and the second the secondary stress (ˊ).

CV̀.CCV́	[ḥãm̰r̰á]	: red (fem.)
CV̀.CCV́C	[yīnbít]	: it grows
CV̀.CCV́C	[yòqr̰ós̰]	: he is pinching
CCV̀.CCV́	[tl̰ãbnɛ́]	: he asked us
CV̀C.CCV́	[qõmblɛ́]	: a bomb
CCV̀C.V́C.CVC	[ktībɑ́tlik]	: I wrote to you
CV̀CC.CV́	[m̰ãr̰:t̰ó]	: his turn
CV̀.CCV́.CVC.CV	[gɛ̃n:ɛ́rüy:a]	: artichoke
V̀C.V́C.CVC	[ɛ̀rɑ́nbik]	: your rabbit
CCCV̀CC.CV́	[stḥ̰ãq:lí]	: he needed me
CCCV̀C.CV́	[st̰qãl̰:ó]	: they became independent

1.2.2.2

If a word comprises only one syllable with long vowel this receives primary stress if it is not the last syllable in the word. The remaining syllables are unmarked.

CV̀:.CVC	[ˤã:lim]	: scholar
CCV̀:.CV	[ˤmã:ra]	: battery
CCV.CCV̀:.CV	[ktibnɛ̃:lu]	: we wrote to him
CV̀:.CVC.CVC	[lī:litkum]	: your night

1.2.2.3

If a word contains two syllables or more with a long vowel, the first gets primary stress. The other syllables remain unmarked.

CCV̀:.CV:.CV	[sqõ:fɛ:tu]	: his ceilings
CCV̀:.CV:.CCVC	[ʃrã:wu:lkum]	: They bought to you
CCV̀:.CV:.CV	[klī:bɛ:tu]	: his dogs (dim.)

1.2.2.4

A syllable with the epenthetic vowel [ə] never receives primary stress.

Cə.CCV̀C	[ləxt̪ãr]	: the danger
Cə.CCV̀C	[ləqfīl]	: the lock

1.2.3 Intonation

Intonation is suprasegmental and pertains to the sentence. Intonation in the dialect of Sūsa is monotonous and has no syntactic function. Questions are marked by a rising terminal contour. A non-emphatic and a non-emotional sentence is pronounced with a falling terminal contour.

1.2.4 Emphasis

Emphasis is a syllabic component which is assigned to the syllable as its structural domain. It is considered as a suprasegmental phoneme and is usually used when dramatising.[9]

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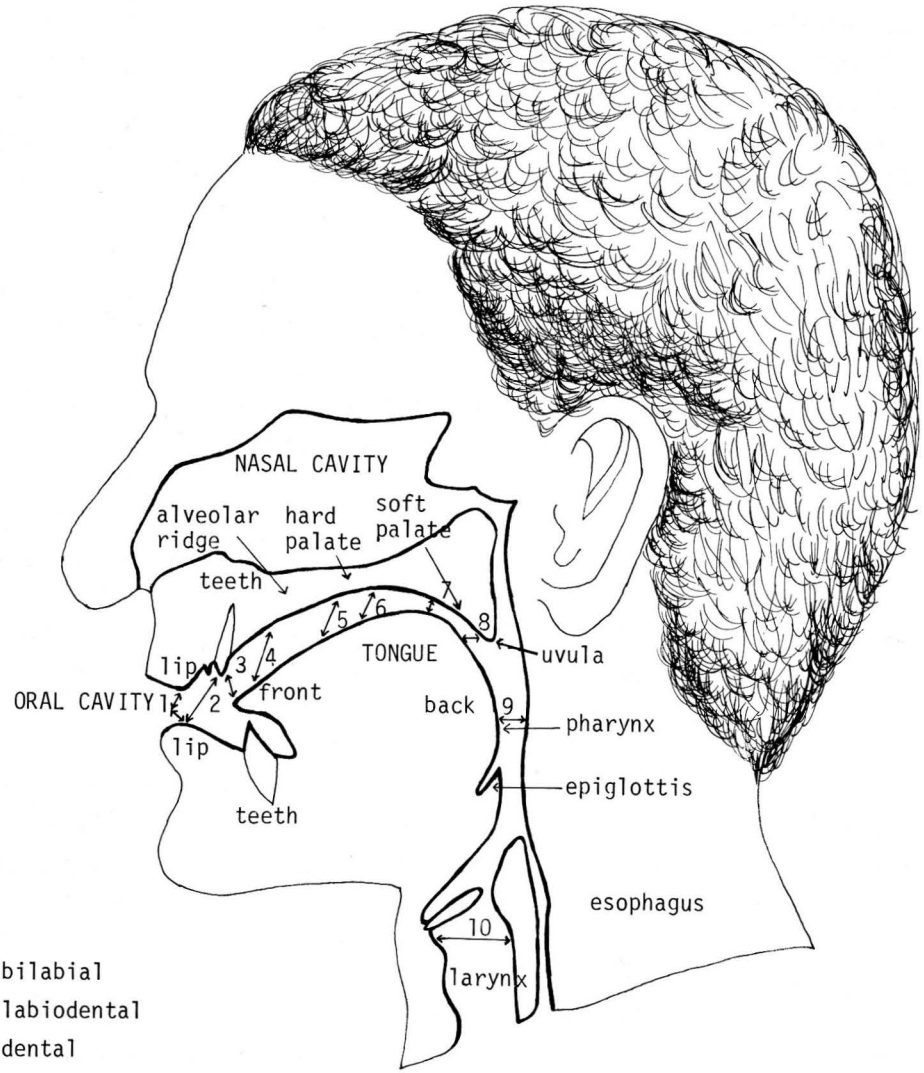
[9] See p. 32 above.

Figure 4: The vocal tract



1 bilabial
2 labiodental
3 dental
4 alveolar
5 palatoalveolar
6 palatal
7 velar
8 uvular
9 pharyngal
10 laryngal

1.3 MANNERS OF ARTICULATIONS

1.3.1 The consonants

1.3.1.1 The stops

The stops are produced by a complete closure at a point of articulation, the airstream continues and the pressure in the roped-off area increases. When the blocking suddenly ceases, the air rushes out and the sound is formed.

/b/ is a voiced bilabial stop and is pronounced by a closure of the two lips and the release of a slight rush of air that has built up with the closure. The sound is produced with simultaneous vibration of the vocal cords.

/t/ is a voiceless dental stop. It is produced trough the blocking of the airstream by replacing the tip of the tongue against the upper teeth and the release of the air.

/ṭ/ is a voiceless emphatic alveolar stop. It is produced through the blocking of the airstream by the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge and the release of the air. Emphasis is a secondary articulation and is produced by constriction in the pharynx.[10] The phonetic difference between emphatic and non-emphatic consonants had been treated since the seventh century by Arab grammarians.[11]

/d/ is a voiced dental stop and it has the same point of articulation as /t/. /d/ is produced with vibration of the vocal cords.

/k/ is a voiceless aspirated velar stop. It is produced through the blocking of the airstream by the back of the dorsum of the tongue against the soft palate. The aspiration - an h-sound - is formed when the air continues rushing through the open vocal tract. A palatal allophone [kʸ] occurs before [i]. The blocking is formed by the blade of the tongue against the hard palate.

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[10] HOCKETT identifies emphasis primarily with pharyngalisation, see A Manual of Phonology, p. 29.

[11] Early Arab grammarians identified emphasis as /*iṭba:q*/ 'spreading and raising of the tongue' but also as /*istiʿla:ʔ*/ 'elevation of the dorsum' and /*tafxi:m*/ 'dignifying' or 'thickness'. For an excellent account of the works of the old Arab phoneticians, see VOLLERS, The system of Arabic Sounds, as based upon Sibaweih and Ibn-Yaʿish in Transactions, and CANTINEAU, Cours de phonétique arabe.

/g/ is a voiced velar stop. The sound has the same point of articulation as /k/. /g/ is produced with the vibration of the vocal cords.

/q/ is a voiceless uvular stop. It is produced with the blocking of the airstream by contact between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. A certain constriction in the pharynx occurs when producing /q/. The constriction is due to the back point of articulation of the sound. /q/ has the same acoustic effect on the surrounding vowels as the emphatic consonants.

1.3.1.2 The fricatives

Fricatives are produced by friction caused by the air moving through a sustained narrow passage somewhere in the vocal tract.

/f/ is a voiceless labiodental fricative. It is produced through a constriction of the airstream formed by the bottom of the lip against the upper front teeth. The position of the tongue varies with the surrounding sounds in the speech chain.

/θ/ is a voiceless interdental fricative. /θ/ is as /ð/ and /ð̲/ a lisp consonant. /θ/ is produced by the narrowing of the passage of the airstream when placing the tip of the tongue between the teeth.

/ð/ is a voiced interdental fricative. It has the same point of articulation as /θ/. The sound is produced with the vibration of the vocal cords.

/ð̲/ is a voiced emphatic interdental fricative. It has as the other emphatic consonants two constrictions. /ð̲/ has an interdental and a pharyngal one. The lateralisation of /ð̲/ is quite usual among men in the older generation. Lateralisation is produced by a complete closure in the front of the oral cavity, but incomplete closure at both sides of the tongue, to permit the escape of the air.

/s/ is a voiceless postdental fricative. /s/ is articulated with the tip of the tongue against the upper gum ridges.

/s̲/ is a voiceless emphatic postdental fricative. /s̲/ has the same point of articulation as /s/. Emphasis distinguishes between the two consonants. The constriction in the pharynx increases the pressure and the airstream rushes out through the narrow opening when the sound is pronounced.

/z/ is a voiced postdental fricative. It has the same point of articulation as /s/. The sound is produced with the vibration of the vocal cords.

/ʒ/ is a palatoalveolar voiced fricative. The sound is produced through a constriction by the front part of the dorsum of the tongue against the rear half of the palate.

/ʃ/ is a voiceless front palatal fricative. It is formed through a constriction by the front part of the dorsum of the tongue against the hard palate. The tip of the tongue is low and the front part of the tongue is high when pronouncing the sound.

/x/ is a voiceless uvular fricative. The sound is produced by contact between the back of the tongue and the uvula.

/ɣ/ is a voiced uvular fricative. It has the same point of articulation as /x/. The sound is produced by vibration of the vocal cords.

/ʕ/ is a voiced pharyngal fricative.[12] The sound has two constrictions: one in the vocal cords and an other in the pharynx. Both constrictions are as important for the articulation of the sound.

/ḥ/ is a voiceless pharyngal fricative produced by narrowing the vocal cords with constriction in the pharynx.

/h/ is a voiceless laryngal fricative. The sound is produced in the larynx by narrowing the vocal cords.

1.3.1.3 The nasals

/m/ and /n/ are produced with nose passage open by reason of the lowered velum, and mouth passage occluded by the lips for /m/, and by the tip of the tongue for /n/.

/m/ is a bilabial nasal produced by the occlusion of the oral cavity with the lips.

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[12] According to AL-ANI the most usual allophone of /ʕ/ in contemporary Arabic as used in Iraq is a voiceless stop and not a voiced fricative. See, AL-ANI, Arabic Phonology, p.62.

/n/ is a postdental nasal. It is produced by the occlusion of the oral cavity with the lip of the tongue against the upper gum ridges.

1.3.1.4 The vibrant

/r/ is an alveolar trill. The sound is produced by a vibration of the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge. Some informants in the younger generation have a retroflex [ɽ] which is produced with the tongue tip curled up so that it touches the alveolar ridge.

1.3.1.5 The lateral

/l/ is a dental lateral. It is produced with a complete closure in the front of the oral cavity and an incomplete one at both sides of the tongue. The blocking is formed by placing the tip of the tongue against the upper teeth.

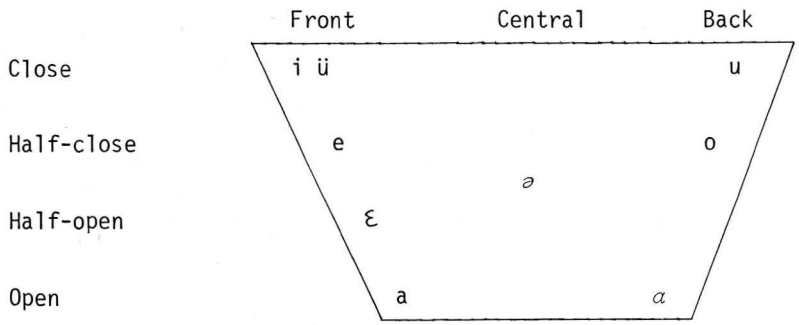
1.3.2 The semi-vowels

A semi-vowel is a sound intermediate between a consonant and a vowel. The semi-vowels are pronounced when the airstream rushed freely through the pharynx and the oral cavity. The articulation is not sustained and is characterized by constant transition.

1.3.3 The vowels

The vowels are produced with air flow moving centrally and orally, forward through the mouth, and into the open air. The sound is produced with vibration of the vocal cords. The passage of air through the oral cavity is unobstructed. The buccal cavity forms a filtering cavity of which the effect is affected by three factors: tongue height, tongue advancement, and lip position.

Figure 5: The vowel allophones arranged in a vowel trapezoid



1.3.4 Conclusion

In conclusion we can say that there are no big differences in the manners of articulation between the dialect of Sūsa and the local standard Arabic. The informants use the same allophonic variations as in the vernacular, but the Classical /dʒ/ is merged into the alveopalatal fricative /ʒ/ in all positions. However many speakers of the older generation use /dʒ/ when reading the Koran.

1.4 PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES

The most usual phonological changes are combinatory. This kind of change is predictable in terms of other sounds in the environment. Some changes occur only in a particular environment and under fixed conditions. The most frequent combinatory phonological change in the Arabic dialects is assimilation which is a phonetic process whereby two phonemes become identical. The most usual type of assimilation is regressive i.e. when two phonemes follow each other, the first is assimilated to the second. Internal assimilation occurs within the segment while external occurs when two segments, which are usually divided by a plus juncture in careful speech are brought in rapid speech into close transition.

1.4.1 The consonants

1.4.1.1 Labial consonants[13]

/b/ and /m/ become emphatic if they are immediately followed or preceded by [a:], an emphatic consonant, [r], [x], [q] or [ɣ].

/*ba:ʃ*/	⟶ [b̰a:ʃ̰]	: material used as a shelter
/*bṣal*/	⟶ [b̰ṣal̰]	: onion
/*ðˁba*/	⟶ [ð̰b̰aˁ]	: stupid
/*arbˁa*/	⟶ [ar̰b̰ˁa]	: four
/x*bar*/	⟶ [xb̰ar̰]	: news
/*qbar*/	⟶ [qb̰ar̰]	: grave
/ʃ*aɣbu*/	⟶ [ʃ̰aɣb̰o]	: he disturbed him
/*ma:ṣ:*/	⟶ [m̰a:ṣ̰]	: sucking
/*mðal:a*/	⟶ [m̰ð̰al̰:a]	: hat
/*mṣa:rin*/	⟶ [m̰ṣ̰a:rün]	: bowels
/*mra*/	⟶ [m̰r̰a]	: woman
/*maqt*/	⟶ [m̰aqt̰]	: persecution
/x*mir*/	⟶ [xm̰ür̰]	: it fermented
/ɣ*ma:q*/	⟶ [ɣm̰a:q]	: it got darker

fC ⟶ vC when C is voiced.

/*fda:ni*/	⟶ [vdɛ:ni]	: he sacrificed his life for me
/*fzaˁ*/	⟶ [v̰z̰aˁ]	: he rushed

---

[13] /w/ see p. 55 below.

bC ⟶pC when C is voiceless.

/*bsir*/ ⟶[psir] : green dates

/*bka*/ ⟶[pkɛ] : he cried

/*bxu:r*/ ⟶[p̰xo:r] : incense

bn ⟶mn

careful speech		rapid speech
/*nḫib nimʃi*/	: I want to go	[nḫ̰ümnimʃi]
/*qalb nsɛ*/	: a womans heart	[qalmnsɛ]

1.4.1.2 Interdental consonants

fð ⟶vd

/*nifðu*/ ⟶[nivdu] : they got realized

θð ð:

careful speech		rapid speech
/*wriθ ðil:ithɛ*/	: he inherited her shame	[urið:il:ithɛ]

θð̰ ⟶ð̰:

/*wriθ ð̰na:ya*/ : he inherited my child [urið̰:na:yɛ]

ð̰θ ⟶θ (sic!)

/*marð̰ θahlu:l*/ : skin disease [m̰arθɛhlu:l]

1.4.1.3 Dental and alveolar consonants

qt ⟶qṱ

/*waqt*/ ⟶[w̰aqṱ] : time

/*maqt*/ ⟶[m̰aqṱ] : persecution

tʒ ⟶dʒ

/*tʒi*/ ⟶[dʒi] : you'll come

/*tʒaɣʒa*/ ⟶[dʒaɣʒaɣ] : you are talking drivel

ndn ⟶n:

/ʿ*andna*/ ⟶[ʿan:ɛ] : in our possession

td ⟶d:

careful speech		rapid speech
/*bint dahriy:a*/	: Dahria's daughter	[bind:ahriy:a]

dt ⟶t:

/*mid tra:bik*/ : take out your sand (imp.) [mit:r̰a:bik]

dṱ ⟶ṱ:

/*ʃid ṱri:qik*/ : queue up (imp.) [ʃiṱ:r̰ü:qük]

sd ⟶zd

/*sdir*/ ⟶[zdir:] : semolina

a:s ⟶ *a*:s̰

/*qa:s*/ ⟶ [q*a*:s̰] : he measured

s̰d ⟶ z̰d̰

/*qis̰di:r*/ ⟶ [qüz̰d̰ü:r̰] : tin

s̰ɣ ⟶ z̰ɣ

/*s̰ɣi:r*/ ⟶ [z̰ɣü:r̰] : little

zt ⟶ st

/*lu:ztu*/ ⟶ [lu:stu] : his almond-tree

/z/ is realised as [z̰] in the contiguity of [a], [r̰], [h̰], [q], [ʳ] or [ɣ].

/*qazma*/ ⟶ [q*a*z̰m̰a] : pygny (fem.)

/*zaʳra*/ ⟶ [z̰aʳr̰a] : blonde

/*zraʳ*/ ⟶ [z̰r̰aʳ:] : he planted

/*zh̰a:q*/ ⟶ [z̰h̰a:q] : ashes

/*zqa:q*/ ⟶ [z̰q*a*:q] : a narrow street

/*zʳur*/ ⟶ [z̰ʳor̰:] : blond (adj. pl.)

/*zaɣba*/ ⟶ [z̰aɣbɛ] : a very fine hair

sz ⟶ z:

careful speech		rapid speech
/*kbis zbi:dɛ*/	: he frightened Zbida	[kbiz:bi:dɛ]

nb ⟶ mb

/*tinbri*/ ⟶ [timbri] : a stamp

nq ⟶ ŋq

/*yunqus̰*/ ⟶ [yuŋqos̰] : it is lacking

ng ⟶ ŋg

/*yungru*/ ⟶ [yuŋgru] : they are pecking

nr ⟶ r̰:

careful speech		rapid speech
/*wi:n ra:h*/	: where did he see him?	[wir̰:a:h]

nb ⟶ mb

/*min bari:z*/ : from Paris [mimbɛri:z]

nm ⟶ m̰:

/*min ma:t̰ir*/ : from Mateur [mim̰:a:t̰ür̰]

The /l/ of the definite article {el} assimilates to the interdental, dental, alveolar or palatal consonants (except y).[14]

/*el θla:θa*/ ⟶ [iθ:lɛ:θɛ] : the three (of a quantity)

/*el ð̰i:b*/ ⟶ [ið̰:i:b] : the wolf

/*el ð̰i:f*/ ⟶ [əð̰:ü:f] : the guest

[14] This phonological change may most properly be regarded as synchronic since it also occurs in borrowings from Standard Arabic as in /*id:fa:tir*/ 'the registers'.

/el tnɛ:bir/ ⟶ [it:nɛ:bir] : the stamps
/el ṯla:q/ ⟶ [ə ṯ:l̪a:q] : the divorce
/el dhi:na/ ⟶ [id:hi:nɛ] : the painting
/el sla:sil/ ⟶ [is:lɛ:sil] : the chains
/el s̱ya:m/ ⟶ [ə s̱:yɛ:m] : the act of fasting
/el zri:ba/ ⟶ [iz:ri:bɛ] : the stable
/el na:r/ ⟶ [iṉ:a:r̲] : the fire
/el ʒna:n/ ⟶ [iʒ:nɛ:n] : the garden
/el ri:q/ ⟶ [ə r̲:ü:q] : the irony
/el ʃaq:/ ⟶ [ə ʃ̲:aq:] : the narrow opening

/l/ becomes emphatic if it is preceded or followed by [a], the emphatic or uvular consonants.

/laḥ:/ ⟶ [l̪aḥ:] : he insisted
/s̱la:ṯa/ ⟶ [s̱l̪a:ṯa] : salad
/ṯlab/ ⟶ [ṯl̪ab] : he asked
/s̱li:b/ ⟶ [s̱l̪ü:b] : cross
/ð̲lamni/ ⟶ [ð̲l̪amni] : he was unfair to me
/ɣlaṯ:/ ⟶ [ɣl̪aṯ:] : mistakes

/r/ is realized as [r̲] in the contiguity of the emphatic and uvular consonants or in emphasized syllables.

/rs̱a:s̱/ ⟶ [r̲s̱a:s̱] : lead
/ṯri:q/ ⟶ [ṯrü:q] : road
/rð̲a/ ⟶ [r̲ð̲a] : he got satisfied
/qra/ ⟶ [qr̲a] : he read
/xra3/ ⟶ [xr̲a3] : he went out
/rɣib/ ⟶ [r̲ɣüb] : he hurried
/ra:yib/ ⟶ [r̲a:yib] : processed sour milk

1.4.1.4 Palatal consonants

/3/ undergoes very few modifications in the dialect of Sūsa.

3...z̲ ⟶ z̲...z̲

/3az̲:a:r/ ⟶ [z̲az̲:a:r̲] : butcher

/ʃ/ becomes emphatic in the contiguity of the emphatic consonants, /r/, [a] or the uvular consonants.

/ʃṯar/ ⟶ [ʃ̲ṯar̲] : half
/ʃarʃu:r/ ⟶ [ʃ̲ar̲ʃ̲o:r̲] : gravel
/ʃra:b/ ⟶ [ʃ̲r̲a:b̲] : wine
/ʃxir/ ⟶ [ʃ̲xür̲:] : he snored
/ʃqa:la/ ⟶ [ʃ̲qa:l̪a] : a deep plate
/ʃɣilni/ ⟶ [ʃ̲ɣülni] : he disturbed me

/y/ see p. below.

1.4.1.5 Velar and uvular consonants

/k/, /q/ and /g/ do not undergo any internal phonological change. In the genuine dialect of the older generation of Sūsa /g/ does not alternate stylistically with /q/.

kɣ ⟶ gɣ

careful speech		rapid speech
/kalbik ɣa:di/	: your dog is there	[kɛlbigɣa:di]

kʒ ⟶ gʒ

/kta:bik ʒu:hri/	: your book is blue	[ktɛ:bigʒu:hri]

kz ⟶ gz

/elma:lik za:z/	: the fiancé came in	[ilmɛ:ligzɛ:z]

gt ⟶ kt

/mar:ig t ra:bru/	: he sold his stamps	[mɛr:iktnɛ:bru]

gk ⟶ kː

/mar:ig kalbi/	: he fooled my dog	[mɛr:ikː:ɛlbi]

gq ⟶ kq

/dagdig qalmi/	: he destroyed my pen	[dɛgdikqɑlmi]

ɣC ⟶ xC when C is voiceless.

/ɣsil/	⟶[xsil:]	: he washed
/ɣfil/	⟶[xfil:]	: he was distrait
/ɣ ʃɛ:ʃir/	⟶[xʃɛ:ʃir]	: children

xz ⟶ ɣz

careful speech		rapid speech
/ʃa:x za:da/	: he enjoyed himself also	[ʃɛ:ɣzɛ:dɛ]

xʒ ⟶ ɣʒ

/t̰ab:a:x ʒra/	: a cook ran	[t̰abɛ:ɣʒrɛ]

xɣ ɣː

/ʃa:x ɣa:di/	: he enjoyed himself there	[ʃɛ:ɣ:a:di]

ɣt ⟶ xt

/far:iɣ tna:bru/	: he emptied his stamps	[fɛr:ixtnɛ:bru]

ɣk ⟶ xk

/dayday kalbna/	: he tickled our dog	[dɛɣdɛxkɛlbnɛ]

ɣx ⟶ xː

/dma:ɣ xa:lti/	: my aunt's head	[dmɛ:x:a:lti]

1.4.1.6 Pharyngal and laryngal consonants

ḥh ⟶ ḥ:

/rab:aḥha/ ⟶ [rab:aḥ:a] : he made her win

ʿh ⟶ h:

/zraʿha/ ⟶ [zraḥ:a] : he planted it (fem.)

1.4.2 The semi-vowels

Initially [w] is in free variation with /u/ when immediately followed by a consonant whereas /y/ in the same position is most often realized as /i/.

[wqüf] ~ [uqüf] : he stood up

[wriθ] ~ [uriθ] : he inherited

[ybis] ~ [ibis] : it hardened

[ylim:] ~ [ilim:] : he collects

Medially the older /aw/ and /ay/[15] have usually been monophthongized into /u:/ and /i:/ respectively.

/ʿawda/ > [ʿo:dɛ] : return

/nawba/ > [nu:bɛ] : crisis

/ḥayra/ > [ḥü:ra] : doubt

/kayla/ > [ki:lɛ] : measure

The diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/[16] can occur in some borrowings from Standard Arabic and in middle-weak verbs in Form II and V.

[dɛwlɛ] : state

[rawḍa] : nursery school

[raw:aḥ] : he went home

[tmɛy:ɛl] : he had been inclined

Finally /w/ and /y/ form diphthongs when preceded by /a/ or /a:/. If the preceding vowel is short the semi-vowels are doubled.

[ḍaw:] : light

[ʃɛy:] : something

[na:y] : flute

[mʃɛ:w] : they went

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[15] For a deeper study of the diphthongs in Syrian Arabic, see PALVA, On the diphthongs aw and ay in Syrian Arabic.

[16] In the dialects of Nabeul and Sfax the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ are in partial free variation with the vowels /u:/ and /i:/, see MAAMOURI, The Phonology of Tunisian Arabic, p. 88.

Initially /w/ and /y/ form also diphthongs when preceded by /a/ and occur in elative adjectives.

[awsɛʳ] : wider

[ɛybis] : harder

In the dialect of Sūsa the occurrence of the diphthongs is as usual among men as among women.[17]

1.4.3 The vowels

1.4.3.1 The phoneme /a/

The allophone of /a/ is [ɛ] if the preceding consonant is a front consonant and non-emphatic. [r] is the only non-emphatic front consonant which is followed by [a]. Among the back consonants, [k], [g] and [h] are also followed by [ɛ].

[rbɛ] : he wasted

[rmɛ] : he threw

[fɛl:ɛ] : jasmine

[θnɛ] : he bent

[zɛl:ɛ] : mistake

[bkɛ] : he cried

[gɛ:di] : fix it (imp.)

[nhɛ:ni] : he adviced me not to

[ðɛb:] : he jumped

[lɛm:] : he collected

[wkɛ:lɛ] : a primitive resthouse

[mɛlɛk] : king

/a/ is realized as [a][18] if it is preceded by an emphatic consonant, by [x], [ḥ] or [ʳ].

[r̰ð̰a] : he became satisfied

[b̰s̰al̰] : onion

[ʃ̰t̰ar̰:] : half

[r̰a:s̰] : head

[xa:l̰] : uncle (mother's side)

[ḥar̰b̰] : war

[ʳar̰k] : quarrel

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17 The author did not find in the dialect of Sūsa any tendency among men to avoid the diphthongs while such a tendency was noticed in the dialect of Nabeul by MAAMOURI, The Phonology of Tunisian Arabic, p. 88.

18 /a/ is most often realized as [a] when following /r/.

/a/ becomes [ɑ] if it is preceded by [q] or [ɣ]. The allophone of /a/ is also [ɑ] if the preceding consonant may occur with [a] and is immediately followed by [q] or [ɣ].

[qɑs̰:] : he cut
[qɑ:l̰] : he said
[ɣɑn:ɛ] : he sang
[ɣɑ:li] : expensive
[ħɑq:] : right
[r̰ɑ:ɣüb] : willing
[s̰ɑq:fu] : they applauded

/a/ is realized as [e] when occurring in imperf. 2. p. sing. of Form I and followed by a front non-emphatic consonant, [g], [k] or [n]. However, the majority of the speakers replace [e] with [i].

[terkib] ⟶ [tirkib] : you are riding
[tenhi] ⟶ [tinhi] : you advise (someone) not to
[tegðib] ⟶ [tigðib] : you are lying

1.4.3.2 The phoneme /u/

The allophone of /u/ is [u] if the preceding consonant is a front consonant and non-emphatic. Among front consonants only /r/ is followed by [o], whereas the back consonants, [k], [g] and [h] are followed by [u].

[bu] : father
[mu:t̰] : death
[fum:] : mouth
[θu:m] : garlic
[ðu:b] : melt (imp.)
[dug:] : stick (imp.)
[m̰artu] : his wife
[zu:r] : visit (imp.)
[mɛs:u] : he touched him
[nu:b] : represent (imp.)
[lu:m] : reproach
[lyu:m] : today
[mɛr:gu] : he fooled him
[huw:ɛ] : he
[kul:] : every

/u/ is realized as [o] if it is preceded by an emphatic consonant or by [r], [x], [ɣ], [q], [ħ] and [ʕ].

[t̰ob̰:a] : physicians
[ðoqt̰] : I tasted

[s̰ob̰:a] : soup
[roqt̰] : I enjoyed living
[h̰ob̰:] : love
[qob̰:a] : dome
[ixor̰:] : he says nonsense
[ɣo:s̰] : dive (imp.)
[ʕonf] : violence

1.4.3.3 The phoneme /i/

The allophone of /i/ is [i] if the preceding consonant is a front consonant and non-emphatic. Only [r] is a front consonant and is followed by [ü]. Among the back consonants, [k], [g] and [h] are also followed by [i].

[bi:k] : with you
[ði:b] : wolf
[nif:] : take snuff (imp.)
[lif:] : hurry up (imp.)
[skit:] : he became silent
[yiktib] : he writes
[gid:] : make it good (imp.)
[hik:ɛ] : like this

/i/ is realized as [ü] if it is preceded by an emphatic consonant or by [r], [x], [ɣ], [q], [h̰] and [ʕ].

[t̰ü:b̰] : perfume
[qaf̰s̰ü] : my cage
[m̰ar̰ð̰ü] : my illness
[mr̰üg:] : he was made a fool of
[mür̰xü] : slack
[ilɣü:r̰] : the others
[qüs̰:] : tell (imp.)
[ʕüqd] : contract
[h̰üb:] : love (imp.)

1.4.3.4 The allophone [ə]

[ə] is inserted when an open juncture is brought into close transition and the resulting cluster is not allowed.

/ba:ʕ mta:ʕi/ : he sold mine [bɛ:ʕəmtɛ:ʕü]
/ka:n hna/ : he was here [kɛ:nəhnɛ]

[ə] occurs also as an epenthetic vowel after C_1 when three-consonant clusters are not allowed.

[yuqətlu] : they kill

[tuhərbu] : you (pl.) run away
[yikətbu] : they write

1.4.4 Conclusion

There are three main types of phonological changes: emphasis, voicing and devoicing.

a) Emphasis has a pervasive phonetic influence on the adjoining segments. The uvular stop [q] has the same effects on its environment as emphatics.

b) Some voiceless consonants are voiced when occurring in close juncture before voiced consonants.

c) Some voiced consonants are devoiced when occurring in close juncture before voiceless consonants.

The allophone [a] may diverge from the above-mentioned rules with no particular consistency; it can, e.g. be preceded (in some lexical items) by a front non-emphatic consonant as in /lba:ba/, /ba:ʃ/ and /ama:n/.

Any initial sequence in the dialect of Sūsa can begin with a consonant, a short or a long vowel.

[kɛlbi] : my dog
[armi] : throw (imp.)
[u:s̰l̰o] : arrive (imp.)

Initially and medially two and three-consonant clusters are allowed while finally three-consonant combinations are not admitted.

[stḥ̰aq] : he deserved
[qomblɛ] : a bomb

2.1 SYLLABLE PATTERNS

There are seventeen syllable patterns in the dialect of Sūsa against six in Classical Arabic.[1]

Classical Arabic			Sūsa		
CV	/*li*/	: for	V-	[iktib]	: write (imp.)
CVC	/*min*/	: from	V:-	[u:s̰ül]	: arrive (imp.)
CV:	/*ma:*/	: negative particle	CV	[mɛ]	: water
CV:C	/*ba:b*/	: door	CV:-	[yu:qüf]	: he stands
CVCC	/*ḥ̰arb*/	: war	VC	[il]	: definite article
CV:C:	/*ma:r:*/	: passing by	V:C	[i:h]	: yes
			CVC	[bin]	: son of
			CV:C	[mɛ:t]	: he died
			CVCC	[m̰arð̰]	: illness
			CCVC	[fhim]	: he understood
			CCV	[m̰ra]	: woman
			CCV:	[qra:yɛ]	: reading
			CV:C:	[qa:s̰:]	: cutting
			CCVCC	[ḥ̰limt]	: I dreamt
			CCV:C	[ᵖmɛ:t]	: she became blind
			CCCVC	[stḥ̰aq]	: he deserved
			CCCVCC	[stqal̰:]	: he became independent

[1] The syllables CV:C, CVCC and CV:C: occur pausally only. The first-mentioned occurs also in context if the vowel is /a/ and the last consonant is doubled (e.g. /*ḥ̰a:l:un*/ 'arriving').

2.2 DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS WITH /w/ AND /y/

2.2.1 Initially

Initially /y/ and /w/ can be followed by any vowel phoneme.

yV-

/yi/	/*yiktib*/	: he writes
/ya/	/*yaqra*/	: he reads
/yu/	/*yuţ̃lub*/	: he asks

yV:-

/yi:/	/*yi:bis*/	: it hardens
/ya:/	/*ya:mir*/	: he orders
/yu:/	/*yu:ʒ̃il*/	: he arrives

Vy-

/iy/ can phonetically be regarded as [i:].

/iy/	/*i:ʒa*/	: come (imp.)
/ay/	/*aybis*/	: harder

/uy/ does not occur.

V:y-

/i:y/ can phonetically be regarded as an extra long /i:/ as in [i:ybis] 'be harder' (imp.).

/a:y/	/*a:ytu*/	: his verse (Koran)

/u:y/ does not occur.

wV-

/wi/	/*wildi*/	: my son
/wa/	/*warda*/	: a rose
/wu/	/*wuʒ̃̃ţi*/	: my waist

wV:-

/wi:/	/*wi:n*/	: where
/wa:/	/*wa:qif*/	: standing
/wu:/	/*wu:*/	: dear me! (used when complaining)

Vw-

/iw/ does not occur.

/aw/	/*awsaʿ*/	: wider

/uw/ alternates with /u:/ as in /*u:ʒ̃lu*/ 'arrive' (imp.).

V.w-

/i:w/ and /a:w/ do not occur.

/u:w/ can phonetically be regarded as an extra long /u/ as in [u:wrüθ] 'inherit' (imp.).

2.2.2 Medially

-yV-

/yu/ does not occur.

/yi/ /*mla:yin*/ : millions

/ya/ /*tyas:af*/ : he became sad

-yV:-

/yi:/[2] does not occur in the genuine dialect.

/ya:/ /*ʔya:t*/ : she got tired

/yu:/ /*malyu:n*/ : one million

-Vy-

/iy/ corresponds phonetically to [i:].

/ay/ /*kay:il*/ : he measured

/uy/ does not occur.

-V:y-

/i:y/ /*yibni:yu*/ : they build

/a:y/ /*na:ya*/ : my flute

/u:y/ /*ʔdu:ya*/ : my enemy

-wV-

/wi/ /*ʃwim*/ : it got worse

/wa/ /*twas:ax*/ : he became dirty

/wu/ /*ʔwur:*/ : one-eyed (pl.)

-wV:-

/wi:/ /*ʔwi:ltu*/ : his family (dim.)

/wa:/ /*ʔwa:m*/ : years

/wu:/ /*rma:wu:li*/ : they threw to me

-Vw-

/iw/ does not occur.

/aw/ corresponds most usually to [u:] but it does occur in some borrowed items and in middle-weak verbs Form II as in /*dawla*/ 'state' and /*raw:aḥ*/ 'he went home'.

/uw/ /*quw:a*/ : strength

-V:w-

/i:w/ does not occur.

/a:w/ /*yaqra:wli*/ : they read to me

/u:w/ /*mru:wa*/ : favour

---

[2] This sequence occurs in the semi-classical form /*ʕahyuniyi:n*/ 'zionists'.

2.2.3 Finally

-yV

/yi/ does not occur.

/ya/ /ʕya/ : he got tired

/yu/ /yibni:yu/ : they build

-yV:[3]

/yi:/, /ya:/ and yu:/ do not occur.

-Vy

/iy/ and /uy/ do not occur.

/ay/ /ẖay/ : alive

-V:y

/i:y/ and /u:y/ do not occur.

/a:y/ /ra:y/ : view, opinion

-wV

/wi/ /qwi/ : strong

/wa/ /qwa/ : he became stronger

/wu/ does not occur.

-wV:[3]

/wi:/, /wa:/ and /wu:/ do not occur.

-Vw

/iw/ and /uw/ do not occur.

/aw/ /ðaw/ : light

-V:w

/i:w/ and /u:w/ do not occur.

/a:w/ /qra:w/ : they read

2.3 DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS WITH CONSONANTS

Excluding /w/ and /y/ there are no restrictions of occurrence between consonant and vowel phonemes. Other than the two semi-vowels, any vowel can be followed or preceded by any consonant. Short vowels occur initially, medially and finally, whereas long vowels occur initially and medially only.

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[3] The final short vowels which are realized as long when followed by suffixes beginning with consonants are phonematically considered as short.

2.4 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The consonant clusters are listed in the following charts. The consonants in the horizontal position represent the first part of the consonant clusters and the ones in the vertical position represent the second member. A plus (+) indicates the possibility of the consonant combination while a blank space suggests that either a cluster does not occur or that no examples were found.

The dialect of Sūsa has the following cluster patterns:
Initial: CC-, CCC-
Medial: -C:-, -CC-, -C:C-, -CCC-
Final: -C:, -CC

2.4.1 Two-consonant clusters

2.4.1.1 Initial two-consonant clusters

171 consonant clusters are impossible initially while the 558 remaining ones are possible. This big number of possible consonant clusters depends on the disappearance of the short vowels in open initial syllables. Double consonant clusters do not occur initially and those showing the most compatibility with others are: b, f, m, n, l, r, w and y. These consonants may be opposed to the most incompatible group, i.e. the interdentals, which however are most important in this dialect since their occurrence is limited to few other sedentary vernaculars in the Western dialect group. The interdentals occur in the following consonant clusters only:

/θb/	[θbit]	: he remembered
/θm/	[θmɛnyɛ]	: eight
/θn/	[θniy:ɛ]	: way
/θl/	[θlɛ:θɛ]	: three
/θr/	[θray:ɛ]	: pendant lamp
/θw/	[θwɛ:b]	: requital
/θy/	[θyɛ:b]	: clothes
/θk/	[θku:kɛ]	: miserable (pl.)
/θq/	[θqɑ:l]	: heavy (pl.)
/θg/	[θgɛ:l]	: heavy (pl.)
/θˤ/	[θˤa:lib]	: foxes
/bθ/	[pθir]	: swelled
/tθ/	[tθu:r]	: you revolt
/dθ/	[dθir]	: he became effaced

/mθ/	[mθɛl:iθ]	: triangular
/nθ/	[nθu:ro]	: we revolt
/lθ/	[lθɛ:m]	: veil (covering the lower part of the face to the nose)
/rθ/	[rθɛ:θ]	: worn clothes
/wθ/	[wθi:qɑ]	: document
/yθ/	[yθu:r]	: he revolts
/kθ/	[kθur]	: it exceeded in number
/xθ/	[xθil]	: it became viscous
/ʳθ/	[ʳθar]	: he stumbled
/ðb/	[ðbil]	: he wilted
/ðm/	[ðmi:m]	: blameworthy
/ðn/	[ðnu:b]	: sins
/ðl/	[ðli:l]	: despicable
/ðr/	[ðra]	: he scattered
/ðw/	[ðwɛ:q]	: tasting
/ðy/	[ðyu:bɛ]	: wolfs
/ðk/	[ðkɛ]	: intelligence
/ðq/	[ðqü:nɛ]	: beard
/ðg/	[ðgi:nɛ]	: beard
/ðx/	[ðxü:ra]	: treasure
/ðɣ/	[ðɣor:]	: dreadful holes
/ðʳ/	[ðʳarni]	: he frightened me
/ðh/	[ðhɛb]	: gold
/bð/	[bðil:]	: he spent freely
/tð/	[tðu:b]	: it melts
/mð/	[mðɛl:ɛ]	: scandal
/nð/	[nðim:u]	: we blame
/lð/	[lði:ð]	: delicious
/rð/	[rði:l]	: low
/wð/	[wði:ntu]	: his ear (dim.)
/yð/	[yðu:q]	: he tastes
/kð/	[kðib]	: he lied
/gð/	[gðifni]	: he threw me away
/qð/	[qðifni]	: he threw me away
/xð/	[xðɛ]	: he took
/ʳð/	[ʳðɛ:b]	: torture
/ɲð/	[ɲðɛ]	: near
/hð/	[hði:liy:ɛ]	: proper name (fem.)

Figure 6: Initial two-consonant clusters

	b	t	d	t̪	f	θ	ð	ð̪	s	s̪	z	ɜ	ʃ	m	n	l	r	w	y	k	g	q	x	ɣ	ʔ	h̪	h
26	b	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22	t	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21	d	+			+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21	t̪	+			+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24	f	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12	θ	+	+	+										+	+	+	+	+	+				+		+		
15	ð	+	+											+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
16	ð̪	+	+		+									+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17	s	+	+		+							+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
16	s̪	+	+		+	+								+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		
19	z	+	+	+	+	+								+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18	ɜ	+	+	+		+			+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+
19	ʃ	+	+	+	+	+								+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26	m	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26	n	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25	l	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25	r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26	w	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26	y	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19	k	+	+	+		+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						+	+	+
19	g	+	+	+		+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						+	+	+
21	q	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						+	+	+
18	x	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
18	ɣ	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
22	ʔ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
19	h̪	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
22	h	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+		

/ð̰b/	[ð̰bɛ:b]	: fog
/ð̰t̰/	[ð̰t̰ar:ü:t]	: I was obligated to
/ð̰f/	[ð̰f̰ar]	: nail
/ð̰m/	[ð̰m̰i:r]	: innermost
/ð̰n/	[ð̰nɛ]	: baby
/ð̰l/	[ð̰lɛ:m]	: dark
/ð̰r/	[ð̰r̰ab]	: he hit
/ð̰w/	[ð̰w̰a]	: he became lighter
/ð̰y/	[ð̰yu:f]	: guests
/ð̰x/	[ð̰xa:mɛ]	: luxury
/ð̰ɣ/	[ð̰ɣɑt̰]	: he compressed
/ð̰ʳ/	[ð̰ʳa:f]	: he became weaker
/ð̰h̰/	[ð̰h̰üy:ɛ]	: immolation
/ð̰h/	[ð̰hor]	: he appeared
/bð̰/	[b̰ð̰ol̰mu]	: with his injustice
/tð̰/	[tð̰or:]	: you harm
/fð̰/	[fð̰ol:]	: he was
/mð̰/	[m̰ð̰al:ɛ]	: hat
/nð̰/	[nð̰oɜ:]	: he became ripe
/lð̰/	[lð̰oʳfu]	: for his weakness
/rð̰/	[rð̰a]	: he got satisfied
/wð̰/	[wðü:fɛ]	: job, position
/yð̰/	[yð̰ü:ʳ]	: he gets lost
/qð̰/	[qð̰ü:b]	: iron stick
/gð̰/	[gð̰ü:b]	: iron stick
/xð̰/	[xð̰or]	: green (pl.)
/ɣð̰/	[ɣð̰ab]	: he became angry
/ʳð̰/	[ʳð̰a:m]	: bones, eggs
/h̰ð̰/	[h̰ð̰ar]	: he was present
/hð̰/	[hð̰a:yib]	: slopes

2.4.1.2 Medial two-consonant clusters

Medially 575 consonant clusters are possible and 154 are impossible. Double consonants occur, which is not the case in initial clusters, and apart from the impossible cluster /lr/ the consonants b, m, n, l, r, w and y form freely clusters with all of the consonants. On the other hand the interdentals (with /k/ and /ɣ/) are most incompatible and occur in the following clusters only:

/θb/	[iθbit]	: remember (imp.)
/θt/	[muθtɛ:r]	: avenging

/θ:/	[biθ:u:m]	: with the garlic
/θm/	[ɛθmin]	: more precious
/θn/	[liθ:nɛ:yɛ]	: to the roads
/θl/	[biθlɛ :θɛ]	: with three
/θr/	[miθrü]	: rich
/θw/	[ɛθwɛb]	: more meritorious
/θy/	[ɛθyiq]	: more trustworthy
/θg/	[lɛθgil]	: the heaviest
/θq/	[laθqül]	: the heaviest
/mθ/	[limθaˀlib]	: the foxy one
/bθ/	[mɛpθu:r]	: pimpled
/tθ/	[mitθaq:üf]	: educated
/dθ/	[mɛdθu:r]	: effaced
/lθ/	[mɛlθu:m]	: obsessed
/rθ/	[mirθi]	: poor
/wθ/	[ɛwθaq]	: surer
/yθ/	[mɛyθu:rü∫]	: he does not revolt
/kθ/	[lɛkθɛrüy:ɛ]	: the majority
/ˀθ/	[baˀθu]	: they sent
/h̰θ/	[bah̰θu]	: they examined, interrogated
/ðb/	[miðbɛ:l]	: wilted
/ð:/	[kið:i:b]	: like the wolf
/ðm/	[biðmi:mtu]	: with his fault
/ðn/	[ɛðnɛb]	: more vicious
/ðr/	[miðrü]	: scattered
/ðw/	[bið:wɛ:q]	: tasting permitted
/ðy/	[biðyu:lu]	: with his tails
/ðk/	[lɛðkɛ]	: the most intelligent
/ðx/	[ið:xü:ra]	: the treasure
/ðˀ/	[mɛðˀo:r]	: frightened
/bð/	[mɛbðu:l]	: spent freely
/tð/	[midðir:ü]	: scattered
/mð/	[limðɛ:lil]	: the scandals
/nð/	[mɛnðlu]	: so low he is!
/lð/	[ɛlðið]	: more delicious
/rð/	[arðil]	: lower
/wð/	[biwði:ntu]	: with his ear (dim.)[4]

[4] */biwði:ntu/* alternates with */buði:ntu/*.

Figure 7: Medial two-consonant clusters

	b	t	d	t̪	f	θ	ð	ð̪	s	s̪	z	ɜ	ʃ	m	n	l	r	w	y	k	g	q	x	ɣ	ʔ	h̪	h
27	b	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20	t	+	+		+				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22	d	+		+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20	t̪	+			+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23	f		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13	θ	+	+	+			+							+	+	+	+	+	+						+	+	
16	ð	+	+					+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
17	ð̪	+	+			+			+					+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20	s	+	+	+	+	+				+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
18	s̪	+	+	+	+	+					+			+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
20	z	+	+	+	+	+						+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20	ɜ	+	+	+	+	+			+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20	ʃ	+	+	+	+	+							+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27	m	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27	n	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27	l	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26	r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27	w	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27	y	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17	k	+	+	+		+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+					+	+		
20	g	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+			+	+		
20	q	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+		+	+		
19	x	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+				
17	ɣ	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					+			
23	ʔ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+		
21	h̪	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					+	
21	h	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						+

/yð/	[mɛyðu:biʃ]	: it does not melt
/kð/	[yikðib]	: he lies
/gð/	[tigðif]	: you throw away
/qð/	[niqðif]	: I throw away
/xð/	[mɛ:xðɛ]	: taking (fem.)
/ɣð/	[miɣði]	: nourished
/ʿð/	[laʿðɛ:b]	: the torture
/ḫ̰ð/	[baḫ̰ðɛ:yɛ]	: near me
/g̰b/	[g̰baʿ]	: wild cat
/g̰:/	[ɘg̰:yu:f]	: the guests
/g̰m/	[big̰mi:ro]	: with his innermost
/g̰n/	[kig̰nɛ:h]	: like his baby
/g̰l/	[ag̰lɛm]	: darker
/g̰r/	[m̰ag̰r̰o:b]	: hit
/g̰w/	[mig̰wi]	: lit
/g̰y/	[mig̰yɛ:f]	: hospitable
/g̰ʿ/	[yig̰ʿa:f]	: he gets weaker
/g̰x/	[ag̰xam]	: more luxuous
/g̰ɣ/	[mag̰ɣo:t̰]	: compressed
/g̰ḫ/	[yag̰ḫak]	: he laughs
/g̰h/	[yog̰hur]	: he shows up
/bg̰/	[bg̰a:yiʿ]	: things
/fg̰/	[fg̰a:yiḫ]	: scandals, humiliations
/tg̰/	[mitg̰aɾ:ür]	: being harmed
/mg̰/	[lim̰g̰al:il]	: the one being in the shadow
/ng̰/	[in:g̰ü:f]	: the clean
/lg̰/	[milg̰ü]	: lighting
/rg̰/	[yarg̰a]	: he consents
/wg̰/	[mawg̰o:ʿ][5]	: subject
/yg̰/	[mayg̰or:ü ʃ]	: he does not do any harm
/gg̰/	[migg̰ü]	: done
/qg̰/	[miqg̰ü]	: done
/xg̰/	[axg̰ar]	: green
/ɣg̰/	[laɣg̰ab]	: the most furious
/ʿg̰/	[laʿg̰am]	: the eggs, bones
/hg̰/	[maḫg̰ar: ʃ]	: he was not present
/hg̰/	[lahða:yib]	: the slopes

[5] The lexical item /*mawg̰u:ʿ*/ alternates with /*mug̰u:ʿ*/.

2.4.1.3 Final two-consonant clusters

251 final consonant clusters are possible against 478 impossible ones. This large number of impossible consonant clusters depends mainly on the frequence of the monosyllabic items with the CCVC pattern. Consonant-doubling is allowed and the interdentals occur in the following 15 clusters only:

/θ:/	[ẖaθ:]	: he encouraged
/bθ/	[xopθ]	: malignancy
/ẖθ/	[baẖθ]	: examination, interrogation
/ᵖθ/	[baᵖθ]	: sending
/ð:/	[ẖüð:]	: take (one's) part (imp.)
/ðf/	[qüðf]	: throwing away
/ðx/	[bɛðx]	: luxury
/ğ:/	[nqağ:]	: he saved
/ğr/	[nağr]	: view
/bğ/	[naḃğ]	: pulse
/fğ/	[raf̈ğ]	: rejection
/rğ/	[maṛğ]	: disease
/kğ/	[rakğ]	: galopping
/ɣğ/	[boɣğ]	: hate
/hğ/	[nahğ]	: awakening

2.4.2 Three-consonant clusters

Initial and medial clusters consist maximally of three consonants while final clusters have a maximum membership of two consonants.

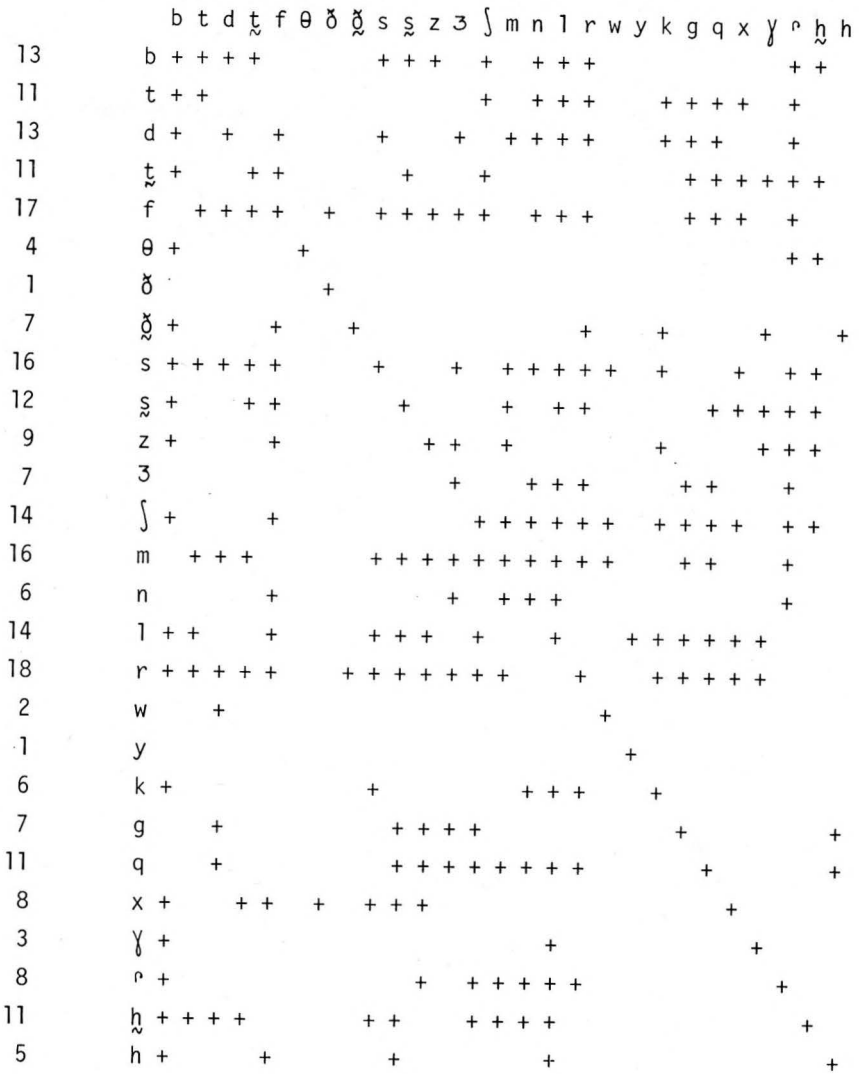
2.4.2.1 Initial consonant clusters

Only the following three-consonant clusters are possible:

(stɣ)	[stɣɑl:]	: he exploited
(stq)	[stqɑl:]	: he became independent
(stᵖ)	[stᵖa:r]	: he got ashamed
(stm)	[stmar:]	: he continued
(stẖ)	[stẖɑq:]	: he deserved
(stw)	[stwɛ:t]	: she arranged
(stf)	[stfɛ:d]	: he got use of
(stx)	[stxaf:]	: he applied (to a person for)
(ntẖ)	[ntẖar]	: he committed suicide
(ntq)	[ntqɑm][6]	: he avenged

[6] Two informants in the younger generation used /*tnaq:ɑm*/ instead of /*ntqɑm*/.

Figure 8: Final two-consonant clusters


b t d t͡s f θ ð ðʲ s sʲ z ʒ ʃ m n l r w y k g q x ɣ ʕ h͡ h
13 b + + + +
11 t + +
13 d + + +
11 t͡s + + +
17 f + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
4 θ + +
1 ð +
7 ðʲ + + + + + +
16 s + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
12 sʲ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
9 z + + + + + + + + + + + +
7 ʒ + + + + + + + +
14 ʃ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
16 m + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
6 n + + + + + + +
14 l + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
18 r + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
2 w + +
1 y +
6 k + + + + + + + +
7 g + + + + + + + + +
11 q + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
8 x + + + + + + + + + + + +
3 ɣ + + + +
8 ʕ + + + + + + + + + + + +
11 h͡ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
5 h + + + + + + + + + + +

There are two types of initial three-consonant clusters: stC and ntC. The 8 of the 10 possible clusters in the dialect of Sūsa have the pattern stC where C happens to be /m/, /w/, /f/, /q/, /x/, /ɣ/, /ɲ̃/ or /ʔ/. The two remaining clusters: /ntɲ̃/ and /ntq/ are lexically limited groups. i.e. they occur in the two above-mentioned examples only.

2.4.2.2 Medial three-consonant clusters

Pattern -C:C-

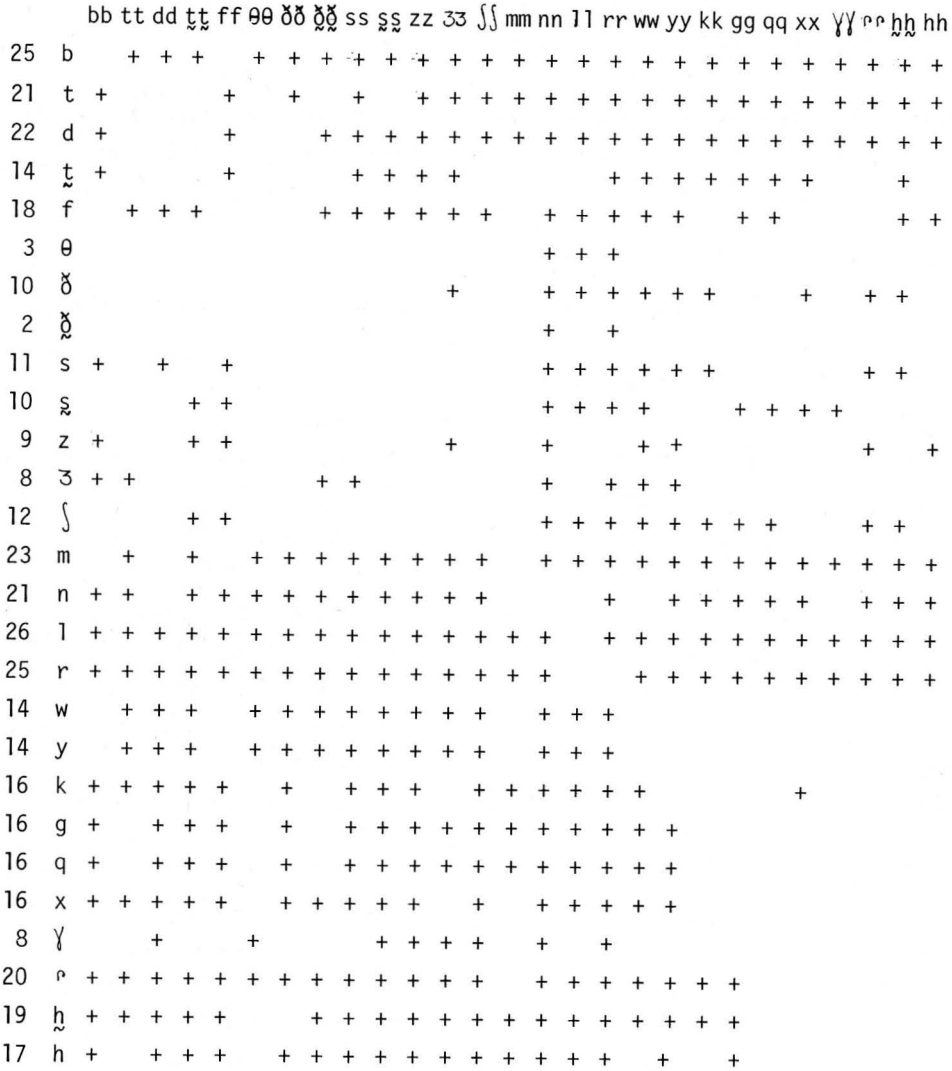
Medially 416 clusters are possible against 313 impossible ones. The consonants b, m, d, l, n and r have bigger combinatory possibilities than the other consonants. The interdentals occur in 52 clusters.

Pattern -CCC-

Only medial three-consonant clusters beginning with a sonorant are allowed in careful speech.

(mbk)	[ʒɛmbkum]	: your side
(mbh)	[ʒɛmbhɛ]	: her side
(mqt)	[yaɱ̃qt̪̃o]	: he persecutes him
(msɲ̃)	[yɛmsɲ̃u]	: they wiped
(nbt)	[yinbtu]	: they grow (plant)
(nfr)	[yunfro]	: they withdraw
(nbr)	[yunbro]	: they are bright new
(nfʔ)	[yɛnfʔu]	: they are useful
(ndh)	[ʔandhɛ]	: in her possession
(ndk)	[ʔandkum]	: in your possession
(nbɲ̃)	[yɛnbɲ̃u]	: they bark
(nsr̃r	[yunsr̃o]	: they cause one to conquer an enemy
(ntʒ)	[yintʒu]	: they produce
(nɣr)	[yinɣro]	: they get jealous
(nks)	[yuŋksu]	: they are sweeping
(nkb)	[yiŋkbu]	: they make someone unhappy
(nsb)	[yinsbu]	: they attribute
(nqb)	[yuŋqbu]	: they are boring a hole
(lbn)	[kɛlbnɛ]	: our dog
(lbk)	[kɛlbkum]	: your dog
(lbh)	[kɛlbhum]	: their dog
(lqf)	[yulqfu]	: they catch (receive)
(lɲ̃m)	[yilɲ̃mu]	: they solder
(lɲ̃s)	[yɛlɲ̃su]	: they lick

Figure 9: Medial three-consonant clusters
Pattern -C:C-



(rfʿ)	[m̃arfʿu]	: his shelf
(rbt̃)	[yurb̃t̃o]	: they tie
(rɣ̃n)	[m̃arɣ̃nɛ]	: our illness
(rɣ̃k)	[m̃arɣ̃kum]	: your illness
(rɣ̃h)	[marɣ̃hum]	: their illness

The epenthetic vowel [ə] is inserted after C_1 when the first consonant in the cluster is not a sonorant.

(bht)	[tibəhtu]	: you get astonished
(fhm)	[nifəhmu]	: we understand
(θpt)	[yiθəptu]	: they remember
(qsm)	[yaqəsmu]	: they divide
(ʿml)	[yaʿəmlu]	: they do
(smʿ)	[yɛsəmʿu]	: they hear
(ʒfl)	[yiʒəflu]	: they run away
(smk)	[isəmkum]	: your (pl.) name
(qbt)	[əqəblu]	: receive (imp.)

In rapid speech the following eight medial three consonant clusters are also permitted. When speaking carefully an epenthetic vowel will be inserted after C_1.

slow tempo			rapid speech
(stɣ)	[yisətɣa̰l:o]	: they exploit	[istɣa̰l:o]
(stq)	[tisətqa̰l:o]	: you become independent	[tistqa̰l:o]
(stʿ)	[yisətʿa:ro]	: they get ashamed	[istʿa:ro]
(stm)	[tisətm̃ar:o]	: you continue	[tistm̃ar:o]
(sth̃)	[nisəth̃a̰q:o]	: we deserve	[nisth̃a̰q:o]
(stw)	[tisətwi:yu]	: you arrange	[tistwi:yu]
(stf)	[yisətfɛ:d]	: he gets use of	[istfɛ:d]
(stx)	[tisətxaf:]	: you apply (to a person)	[tistxaf:]

Morphology

I VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

The most important feature of the verbal morphology of Arabic is that most verb stems consist of three radicals. To start from the basic forms, the stems can be extended by adding systematically one or several affixes finally to attain up to nine additional forms.[1] In Classical Arabic, as well as in most Arabic dialects, the verb stems can be divided into the seven following groups.[2]

1

The regular verbs which consist of three strong radicals:

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
/kataba/	: to write	/ktib/

2

The so-called geminate verbs where C_2 is doubled:

/mar:a/	: to pass	/mar:/

3

The initial-weak verbs where C_1 is /w/ or /y/:

/wazina/	: to weigh	/wzin/
/yabisa/	: to be dry	/ybis/

4

The middle-weak verbs where C_2 is /w/ or /y/:

/qa:la/	: to say	/qa:l/
/ma:la/	: to incline	/ma:l/

5

The final-weak verbs where C_3 is /w/ or /y/:

/nama:/	: to develop	/nma/
/laqa:/	: to meet	/lqa/
/saqa:/	: to give to drink	/sqa/

---

[1] The number of the derived forms varies in different dialects.

[2] In some Arabic dialects also other verb types occur, e.g. /ʤa/, /yəʤi/ 'to come' where C_1 is strong but the verb is neither (5) nor (6). The dialect of Sūsa has two such verbs, i.e. /ʒa/ 'to come' and /ra/ 'to see'.

6

The doubly weak verbs where C_1 and C_3 consist of /w/ or /y/:

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
/*wafa:*/	: to carry out an agreement	/*wfa*/

7

The quadriradical verbs which consist of four radicals:

/*ʿantara*/ : to display heroism /*ʿantir*/

The verb in the dialect of Sūsa as well as in most Arabic dialects gets, as mentioned above, the same morphological division. However an eighth verb type, i.e. the 'hamzated' verbs can also be noticed even though such verbs lost the /ʾ/ and changed structure in most Arabic dialects.[3] The dialect of Sūsa has two moods, viz. the indicative and the imperative mood. There are two aspects in the dialect of Sūsa, i.e. the perfective and the imperfective aspect. The perfective aspect indicates the past while the imperfective indicates the non-past in the present, future or past. However the imperfect has most often a present meaning. The dual-form is non-existent and there is no distinction of gender in 2nd and 3rd p. pl. The morphological alterations in the vernacular of Sūsa led to neutralisation between the 2nd p. sing. masc. and fem.

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[3] Cf. p. 90 below.

1.1 REGULAR FORM

1.1.1 The regular verb

	Perfect		Imperfect
Singular			
3rd masc.	qlib	: he turned	yiqlib
3rd fem.	qülbit		tiqlib
2nd c.	qlibt		tiqlib
1st c.	qlibt		niqlib
Plural			
3rd c.	qülbu		yiqəlbu
2nd c.	qlibtu		tiqəlbu
1st c.	qlibnɛ		niqəlbu

	Imperative
Singular	iqlib
Plural	iqəlbu

	Participles		
	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active	qa:lib	qa:lbɛ	qa:lbi:n
Passive	maqlu:b	maqlu:bɛ	maqlubi:n

1.1.1.1 Perfect

The disappearance of the older short vowels in the final position has neutralized the morphological opposition between 1st and 2nd p. sing.[4] The suffix /u/ occurring in 3rd p. pl. corresponds to the Classical perfective suffix /u:/. Some verbs in the dialect of Sūsa have the same characteristic vowel as in Classical Arabic while others have a different vowel.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
/qatala/	: he killed	[qṯal]
/labisa/	: he dressed	[lbis]
/qaruba/	: he got closer	[qr̃ob̃]
/samiʿa/	: he heard	[smɛʿ]
/ɣariqa/	: he drowned	[ɣroq]
/kabura/	: he grew up	[kbir]

[4] The same phenomenon occurs in other sedentary Western dialects as in Tlemcen-ville, Djidjelli, Alger, Tunis, Fes (Jewish). Cf. GRAND'HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 46.

Verb stems including an emphatic or a uvular consonant have most often /u/ or [a] while the remaining verb stems have usually /i/ or [ɛ], i.e. the quality of the vowels is mainly phonetically conditioned.

1.1.1.2 Imperfect

The dialect of Sūsa has, as the other Western dialects, the prefix /n(v)/ for 1st p. sing. The vowels of the prefixes are most often modified in order to harmonize with the 'characteristic' vowel.

[yaɣ̰laq] : he closes
[yiktib] : he writes
[yuɣ̰roq] : he drowns
[yuŋkur] : he denies
[yuhrob] : he runs away

The most frequent stem vowel in the imperfect as well as in the perfect is /i/. In the plural an epenthetic vowel is inserted when three-consonant clusters are not allowed.[5]

[yinɣ̰ro] : they get jealous
[yaqqṭo] : they persecute
[yilḥmu] : they solder
[yurbṭo] : they tie
[yaqəsmu] : they divide, they share
[yɛʕəmlu] : they do
[yɛsəmʕu] : they hear
[yuqəʕdu] : they sit down

1.1.1.3 Imperative

The imperative forms have always the same stem as in the imperfect. The imperative prefix is /i/, /a/ or /u/ depending on the quality of the stem vowel, i.e. it is always identical with the stem vowel.

[yiktib]	: he writes	[iktib]
[yikrim]	: he becomes generous	[ikrim]
[yiqfil]	: he locks	[iqfil]
[yuɣroq]	: he drowns	[uɣroq]
[yuknus]	: he sweeps	[uknus]
[yuqros]	: he pinches	[uqɣ̰roṣ]
[yaṭ̰laʕ]	: he gets up	[aṭ̰laʕ]

[5] See medial three-consonant clusters pp. 73-75 above.

[yɛʔmɛl] : he does [ɛʔmɛl]
[yɛsfɛh] : he lies [ɛsfɛh]

1.1.1.4 Participles

The active participle has the same morphological structure as in Classical Arabic, i.e. Ca:CiC.

[kɛ:tib] : writing
[ʔa:mil] : doing
[kɛ:nis] : sweeping
[qɑ:sim] : dividing, sharing

The passive participle is also the same as in Classical Arabic and has the pattern maCCu:C.

[mɛktu:b] : written
[maṣṣro:q] : stolen

There is no distinction of gender in pl. active and passive participles.

[kɛ:tbi:n] : writing (pl. c.)
[mɛktubi:n] : written (pl. c.)

1.1.2 The geminate verb

	Perfect		Imperfect
Singular			
3rd masc.	rad:	: he answered	yrod: ~ irod:
3rd fem.	rad:it		trod:
2nd c.	rad:i:t		trod:
1st c.	rad:i:t		nrod:
Plural			
3rd c.	rad:u		yrod:u ~ irod:u
2nd c.	rad:i:tu		trod:u
1st c.	rad:i:nɛ		nrod:u

	Imperative
Singular	rod:
Plural	rod:u

	Participles		
	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active	ra:did ~ ra:d:	ra:d:ɛ	ra:d:i:n
Passive	mardu:d	mardu:dɛ	mardudi:n

1.1.2.1 Perfect

The stem vowel of the perfect in geminate verbs is always /a/. In the dialect of Sūsa the perfect is inflected like final /y/ verbs in Form II, except in the suffixless sing. 3rd masc. This is one of the major common features where the modern Arabic dialects diverge from Classical Arabic in which the geminate does not occur before suffixes beginning with consonants.

	Classical Arabic	Sūsa
Singular		
3rd masc.	/*rad:a*/	[rad:]
3rd fem.	/*rad:at*/	[rad:it]
2nd masc.	/*radadta*/	[rad:i:t]
2nd fem.	/*radadti*/	
1st c.	/*radadtu*/	[rad:i:t]
Plural		
3rd masc.	/*rad:u:*/	[rad:u]
3rd fem.	/*radadna*/	
2nd masc.	/*radadtum*/	[rad:i:tu]
2nd fem.	/*radadtun:a*/	
1st c.	/*radadna:*/	[rad:i:t]

1.1.2.2 Imperfect

The vowel of the prefix in the unstressed syllable[6] disappears when the verb stem begins with the sequence CV-.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
/ʔV+*ʃid:u*/	: I hold	[nʃid:]
/*t*V+*ẖuṯ:u*/	: you put	[tẖoṯ:]
/*y*V+*kur:u*/	: he pulls	[ykur:] ~[ikur:]
/*n*V+*qaʂ:u*/	: we cut	[nqoʂ:o]
/*t*V+*ʂub:u:na*/	: you (pl.) pour	[tʂob:u]
/*y*V+*ʂub:u:na*/	: they pour	[yʂob:u] ~[iʂob:u]

The stem vowel in the imperfect is /i/ or /u/ depending on the quality of the stem vowel in the perfect, i.e. verbs with stem vowel [ɛ] in the perfect get /i/ in the imperfect while verbs with [a] get /u/.

Perfect		Imperfect
[mɛd:]	: he took out	[ymid:] ~[imid:]
[ʃɛd:]	: he held	[yʃid:] ~ [iʃid:]

[6] In 3rd p. sing. and pl. the vowel of the prefix is preserved in the dialect of Cherchell, Tunis and Alger (Jewish), see GRAND'HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 49, STUMME, Grammatik des tunisischen Arabisch, pp. 12-13, and M. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger, pp. 182-185.

Perfect		Imperfect	
[mɛl:i:t]	: you became bored	[tmil:]	
[sɛb:i:t]	: I swore	[nsib:]	
[rad:]	: he answered	[yrod:]	[irod:]
[qɑʂ:ü:t]	: you cut	[tqoʂ:]	
[maʂ:ü:t]	: I sucked	[nmoʂ:]	
[ẖat:ü:to]	: you (pl.) put	[thot:o]	

1.1.2.3 Imperative

The stem of the imperative is identical with the imperfect stem.

Imperfect		Imperative
[trod:]	: you answer	[rod:]
[tmid:]	: you take out	[mid:]
[tʂob:u]	: you (pl.) pour	[ʂob:u]
[trod:u]	: you (pl.) answer	[rod:u]

1.1.2.4 Participles

The active participle sing. masc. has two possible patterns, i.e. $C_1a:C_2iC_2$ and $C_1a:C_2C_2$. The first pattern is very frequent among men of the older generation as well as in the old tales, e.g. */ra:did/* 'answering', */ẖa:ṭiṭ/* 'putting' and */qa:ʂiʂ/* 'cutting'. The second pattern is very usual among the younger generation and women, e.g. */ra:d:/*, */ẖa:ṭ:/* and */qa:ʂ:/*.

1.1.3 The initial-weak verb

Perfect				
Singular				
3rd masc.	wʂül ~ uʂül[7]	: he arrived	ybis ~ ibis	: he (it) hardened, dried
3rd fem.	wiʂlit		yibsit	
2nd c.	wʂült ~ uʂült		ybist ~ ibist	
1st c.	wʂült ~ uʂült		ybist ~ ibist	
Plural				
3rd c.	wiʂlo		yibsu	
2nd c.	wʂültu ~ uʂültu		ybistu ~ ibistu	
1st c.	wʂülnɛ ~ uʂülnɛ		ybisnɛ ~ ibisnɛ	

[7] The location of stress shifts in accordance with the prosodic rules of the dialect, i.e. the lexical item [wʂül] gets the primary stress only whereas [uʂül] receives a primary and secondary stress, e.g. [ùʂül].

Imperfect

Singular		
3rd masc.	yu:s̲ül	yi:bis
3rd fem.	tu:s̲ül	ti:bis
2nd c.	tu:s̲ül	ti:bis
1st c.	nu:s̲ül	ni:bis
Plural		
3rd c.	yu:s̲lu	yi:bsu
2nd c.	tu:s̲lu	ti:bsu
1st c.	nu:s̲lu	ni:bsu

Imperative

Singular	u:s̲ül	i:bis
Plural	u:s̲lu	i:bsu

Participles

	masc.		fem.		pl.	
Active	wa:s̲ül	yɛ:bis	wa:s̲la	yɛ:bsɛ	wa:s̲lü:n	yɛ:bsi:n
Passive	muzu:n	------	muzu:nɛ	------	muzuni:n	--------

1.1.3.1 Perfect

Initial-weak verbs with /y/ radical are very rare in all Tunisian dialects, e.g. the dialect of Sūsa has only the verb */ybis/*.[w] and [y] alternate with [u] and [i] respectively. However in the majority of idiolects /w/ is most often realized as [w] in the older generation while /w/ is usually rendered by [u] in the younger generation. The realisation of /y/ as [i] in the singular is deeply rooted among all speakers for the verb */ybis/* while in the plural /y/ has the allophone [y], e.g. [ybisnɛ] and [ybistu].

1.1.3.2 Imperfect

Verb stems with initial /w/ and /y/ get in the imperfect the prefixes /Cu:/ and /Ci:/ respectively.[8] The radicals /w/ and /y/ are realized as [:], i.e. in analogy with the imperfect of the strong verb /Cuw/ and /Ciy/ correspond to [Cu:] and [Ci:].

[8] The same phenomenon occurs in some North African Beduin dialects. Cf. Ph. MARÇAIS, Contributions à l'étude du parler arabe de Saâda, p. 61, D. COHEN, Le dialecte arabe Ḥassānīya de Mauritanie, p. 97, and W. MARÇAIS, Le dialecte arabe des Ūlâd Bṛāhîm de Saïda, p. 82.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa	
/yaʂ̱ilu/	: he arrives	[wʂ̱ül] ~ [uʂ̱ül]	[yu:ʂ̱ül]
/taqifu/	: she stands up	[wiqfit]	[tu:qüf]
/tasiqu/	: you export	[wsiqt̠] ~ [usiqt̠]	[tu:siq]
/ʔabisu/	: I dry	[ybist] ~ [ibist]	[ni:bis]

1.1.3.3 Imperative

The verb stem in the imperative is identical with the imperfect stem. The imperative prefix is also identical with the vowel of the imperfective prefix.

[yu:ʒi ʔ]	: he hurts	[u:ʒiʔ]	[u:ʒʔo]
[yu:qüf]	: he stands up	[u:qüf]	[u:qfu]
[yu:ʒid]	: he finds	[u:ʒid]	[u:ʒdu]
[yi:bis]	: he (it) dries	[i:bis]	[i:bsu]

1.1.3.4 Participles

Only transitive verbs form passive participles.

[wʒid] ~ [uʒid]	: he found	[muʒu:d]
[wzin] ~ [uzin]	: he weighed	[muzu:n]
[wsiq] ~ [usiq]	: he exported	[musu:q]

1.1.4 The middle-weak verb

Perfect

Singular							
3rd masc.	qɑ:l	: he said	xa:f	: he got scared	mɛ:l	: he inclined
3rd fem.	qɑ:lit		xa:fit		mɛ:lit	
2nd c.	qolt		xuft		milt	
1st c.	qolt		xuft		milt	
Plural						
3rd c.	qɑ:lu		xa:fu		mɛ:lu	
2nd c.	qoltu		xuftu		miltu	
1st c.	qolnɛ		xufnɛ		milnɛ	

Imperfect

Singular			
3rd masc.	iqo:l ~ yqo:l	ixa:f ~ yxa:f	imi:l ~ ymi:l

3rd fem.	tqo:l	txa:f	tmi:l
2nd c.	tqo:l	txa:f	tmi:l
1st c.	nqo:l	nxa:f	nmi:l
Plural			
3rd c.	iqo:lu ∼ yqo:lu	ixa:fu ∼ yxa:fu	imi:lu ∼ ymi:lu
2nd c.	tqo:lu	txa:fu	tmi:lu
1st c.	nqo:lu	nxa:fu	nmi:lu

Imperative

Singular	qo:l	xa:f	mi:l
Plural	qo:lu	xa:fu	mi:lu

Participles

	masc.			fem.		
Active	qɑ:yil	xa:yif	mɛ:yil	qɑ:ylɛ	xa:yfɛ	mɛ:ylɛ
Passive	muqɑ:l	------	------	------	------	------
	pl.					
Active	qɑ:yli:n	xa:yfi:n	mɛ:yli:n			
Passive	--------	--------	--------			

1.1.4.1 Perfect

Verb stems with medial /w/ or /y/ have stem vowel /u/ and /i/ respectively when followed by suffixes beginning with consonants.

[qɑ:l]	[qolt]	[qolnɛ]	[qoltu]
[xa:f]	[xuft]	[xufnɛ]	[xuftu]
[mɛ:l]	[milt]	[milnɛ]	[miltu]

1.1.4.2 Imperfect

With the exception of the verb */yba:t/* 'he stays overnight' medial weak verbs have in the imperfect always the same stem vowel as in Classical Arabic.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
/yaxa:fu/	: he becomes scared	[ixa:f]∼[yxa:f]
/taqu:lu/	: she says	[tqo:l]
/tami:lu/	: you incline	[tmi:l]
/ʔabi:tu/	: I stay overnight	[nbɛ:t]

1.1.4.3 Imperative

The imperative stem is identical with the imperfect stem which due to the syllable structure is not the case in Classical Arabic.

Classical Arabic	Sūsa	
/xaf/	/yxa:f/	[xa:f]
/qul/	/yqu:l/	[qo:l]
/mil/	/ymi:l/	[mi:l]
/xa:fu:/	/yxa:fu/	[xa:fu]
/qu:lu:/	/yqu:lu/	[qo:lu]
/mi:lu:/	/ymi:lu/	[mi:lu]

1.1.4.4 Participles

Only transitive verbs form passive participles.

[bɛ:ʔ]	: he sold	[mubɛ:ʔ][9]
[qa:m]	: he lifted	[muqa:m]
[sɛ:l]	: he owed	[musɛ:l]

1.1.5 The final-weak verb

Perfect

Singular					
3rd masc.	sqa	: he watered	qra	: he read	ʔfɛ : he forgave
3rd fem.	sqa:t		qra:t		ʔfɛ:t
2nd c.	sqü:t		qrü:t		ʔfi:t
1st c.	sqü:t		qrü:t		ʔfi:t
Plural					
3rd c.	sqa:w		qra:w		ʔfɛ:w
2nd c.	sqü:tu		qrü:tu		ʔfi:tu
1st c.	sqü:nɛ		qrü:nɛ		ʔfi:nɛ

Imperfect

Singular			
3rd masc.	yisqü	yaqra	yaʔfu
3rd fem.	tisqü	taqra	taʔfu
2nd c.	tisqü	taqra	taʔfu
1st c.	nisqü	naqra	naʔfu

[9] The vowel /u/ is exceptionally preserved in unstressed open syllables.

Plural			
3rd c.	yisqü:yu	yaqra:w	yaˀfɛ:w
2nd c.	tisqü:yu	taqra:w	taˀfɛ:w
1st c.	nisqü:yu	naqra:w	naˀfɛ:w

Imperative

Singular	isqü	aqra	aˀfu
Plural	isqü:yu	aqra:w	aˀfɛ:w

Participles

	masc.			fem.		
Active	sɛ:qü	qɑ:rü	ˀa:fi	sɛ:qya	qɑ:rya	ˀa:fya
Passive	misqü	miqrü	miˀfí	misqüy:ɛ	miqrüy:ɛ	miˀfiy:a

	pl.		
Active	sɛqü:n	qɑrü:n	ˀafi:n
Passive	misqüyi:n∼misqü:n	miqrüyi:n∼miqrü:n	miˀfiyi:n∼miˀfi:n

1.1.5.1 Perfect

The stem vowel is lengthened when followed by a suffix.

[mlɛ]	: he filled	[mlɛ:t]	[mlɛ:w]
[ẖbɛ]	: he crept	[ẖbi:t]	[ẖbi:tu]
[qra]	: he read	[qrü:t]	[qrü:tu]

1.1.5.2 Imperfect

In the imperfect, verb stems get the characteristic vowel /i/, /u/ or /a/. Verbs final /ʔ/ in Classical Arabic correspond always in the dialect of Sūsa to verbs final /y/ with stem vowel /a/ in the imperfect.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
/*yaqraʔu*/	: he reads	[yaqra]
/*tamlaʔu*/	: you fill	[tɛmlɛ]
/*nabdaʔu*/	: we begin	[nɛbdɛ:w]

Verbs final /y/ in Classical Arabic with stem vowel /a/ correspond always to verbs with the characteristic vowel /a/ in the dialect of Sūsa.

Classical Arabic		Susa
/*yansa:*/	: he forgets	[yɛnsɛ]
/*yasˁa:*/	: he attempts	[yɛsˁa]
/*yarð̪a:*/	: he consents	[yarð̪a]

The dialect of Sūsa has two verbs with the characteristic vowel /u/[10] in the singular, i.e. the verbs /*yaʿfu*/ 'he forgives' and /*yaḫbu*/ 'he creeps' get stem vowels /a/ and /i/ respectively when inflected in the plural.

[yaʿfu] : he forgives [yaʿfɛ:w]

[yaḫbu] : he creeps [yaḫbi:yu]

In the imperfect, the vowel of the prefix is always identical with the stem vowel unless the latter is /u/.

[yaqra] : he reads

[yaqwa] : he gets stronger

[yarwa] : he drinks his fill

[yikwi] : he burns

[yiʃwi] : he grills

[yinfi] : he denies

If the stem vowel is /u/ the prefix gets a /a/ vowel.

[yaḫbu] : he creeps

[yaʿfu] : he forgives

Verbs with the characteristic vowel /a/ in the singular have the final sequence /a:w/ in the plural while those with /i/ have /i:yu/.

[yaqra] [yaqra:w]

[yaqwa] [yaqwa:w]

[yisqü] [yisqü:yu]

1.1.5.3 Imperative

The verb stem in the imperative is always identical with the imperfective stem. The imperative suffix is also identical with the vowel occurring in the prefix of the imperfect.

[yaqra] [aqra]

[yaḫbu] [aḫbu]

[yisqü] [isqü]

1.1.5.4 Participles

The active participle has the pattern CaCi in the masculine, Ca:Cya in the feminine and CaCi:n in the plural.

[ʃɛ:rü] : bying

[ʃɛ:rya] : bying (fem.)

[ʃɛrü:n] : bying (pl.)

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[10] The verbs with stem vowel /u/ are very rare in all North African dialects, see GRAND'HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 54.

The passive participle has the pattern miCCi in the masculine, miCCiy:a in the feminine and the two alternating patterns: miCCiyi:n and miCCi:n in the plural.
[miʃrü]
[miʃrüy:a]
[miʃrüyi:n] ~ [miʃrü:n]

1.1.6 The doubly weak verb[11]

Perfect

Singular			
3rd masc.	wfɛ	~ ufɛ	: he ended
3rd fem.	wfɛ:t	~ ufɛ:t	
2nd c.	wfi:t	~ ufi:t	
1st c.	wfi:t	~ ufi:t	
Plural			
3rd c.	wfɛ:w	~ ufɛ:w	
2nd c.	wfi:tu	~ ufi:tu	
1st c.	wfi:nɛ	~ ufi:nɛ	

Imperfect

Singular	
3rd masc.	yu:fɛ
3rd fem.	tu:fɛ
2nd c.	tu:fɛ
1st c.	nu:fɛ
Plural	
3rd c.	yufɛ:w
2nd c.	tufɛ:w
1st c.	nufɛ:w

Imperative

Singular	u:fɛ
Plural	ufɛ:w ~ wfɛ:w

Participles

	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active	wɛ:fi	wɛ:fyɛ	wɛfi:n
Passive	mu:fi	mu:fiy:ɛ	mufiyi:n ~ mufi:n

[11] With doubly weak-verbs are meant verbs with C_1wy+C_3wy.

1.1.6.1 Perfect

/wfa/ is the only doubly weak verb occurring in the dialect of Sūsa. The stem vowel is lengthened when followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant.

[wfɛ:t] ∼ [ufɛ:t]
[wfɛ:w] ∼ [ufɛ:w]
[wfɛ] ∼ [ufɛ]
[w] and [u] alternate with each other initially.

1.1.6.2 Imperfect

In the singular, verb stems get the prefix /Cu:/, /w/ is realized as [u], i.e. the morphophonemic /Cuw/ corresponds phonetically to [Cu:]. In the plural the vowel of the prefix is short while the characteristic vowel is long, i.e. /yu:fa/ + {u} ⟶ [yufɛ:w].

1.1.6.3 Imperative

The stem in the imperative is identical with the imperfect stem.

[yu:fɛ]	[u:fɛ]
[yufɛ:w]	[ufɛ:w] ∼ [wfɛ:w]

1.1.6.4 Participles

In the plural, the passive participle has two alternant patterns, i.e. muCiyi:n and muCi:n.

1.1.7 The verbs /ʒa/ and /ɾa/

Perfect

Singular

3rd masc.	ʒɛ	: he came	ra	: he saw
3rd fem.	ʒɛ:t		ra:t	
2nd c.	ʒi:t		rü:t	
1st c.	ʒi:t		rü:t	
Plural				
3rd c.	ʒɛ:w		ra:w	
2nd c.	ʒi:tu		rü:tu	
1st c.	ʒi:nɛ		rü:nɛ	

Imperfect

Singular

3rd masc.	yʒi ∼ iʒi	yra ∼ ira

3rd fem.	t3i	tra
2nd c.	t3i	tra
1st c.	n3i	nra
Plural		
3rd c.	y3i:yu ∼ i3i:yu	yra:w ∼ ira:w
2nd c.	t3i:yu	tra:w
1st c.	n3i:yu	nra:w

Imperative

Singular	i:3ɛ	ra
Plural	y3ɛ:w ∼ i3ɛ:w	ra:w

Participles

	masc.		fem.		pl.	
Active	3ɛ:y	-----	3ɛ:y:ɛ	-----	3ɛyi:n	-----
Passive	-----	-----	------	-----	------	-----

Weak verbs of /3a/ and /ra/ type are very rare in all Arabic dialects, e.g. the vernacular of Sūsa has only the two above-mentioned verbs. /3a/ and /ra/ correspond to the Classical forms /dʒa:ʔa/ and /raʔa:/ respectively, i.e. the older /ʔ/ has disappeared and the verbs have one strong radical only.

1.1.7.1 Perfect

The characteristic vowel is, as in the other verbs, lengthened when followed by suffixes beginning with consonants.

[3i:t]	[3ɛ:w]	[3i:nɛ]
[rü:t]	[ra:w]	[rü:nɛ]

1.1.7.2 Imperfect

The initial [y] alternates with [i].

[y3i] ∼ [i3i]

[yra:w] ∼ [ira:w]

In the imperfect, the verbs /3a/ and /ra/ have the same stem vowel as in Classical Arabic.

Classical Arabic	Sūsa
/yad3i:ʔu/	/y3i/
/tad3i:ʔu/	/t3i/
/ʔad3i:ʔu/	/n3i/
/yad3i:ʔu:na/	/y3i:yu/
/tad3i:ʔu:na/	/t3i:yu/

/nadʒi:ʔu/	/nʒi:yu/
/yara:/	/yra/
/tara:/	/tra/
/ʔara:/	/nra/
/yarawna/	/yra:w/
/tarawna/	/tra:w/
/nara:/	/nra:w/

1.1.7.3 Imperative

The imperative stem of the verb /ra/ is identical with the imperfect stem while the stem of the verb /ʒa/ has a different pattern formed in analogy with initial-weak verbs.

/yra/	/ra/
/yra:w/	/ra:w/
/yʒi/	/i:ʒa/
/yʒi:yu/	/yʒɛ:w/

1.1.7.4 Participles

The verb /ʒa/ can form an active participle[12] whereas /ra/ can neither form an active nor a passive participle.

1.1.8 Verbs corresponding to the Classical Arabic 'hamzated' verbs

1.1.8.1 Classical initial /ʔ/ verbs

The verbs corresponding to the Classical /ʔakala/ 'to eat' and /ʔaxaðða/ 'to take' lack /ʔ/ in the dialect of Sūsa.

Perfect

Singular				
3rd masc.	xðɛ	: he took	klɛ	: he ate
3rd fem.	xðɛ:t		klɛ:t	
2nd c.	xði:t		kli:t	
1st c.	xði:t		kli:t	
Plural				
3rd c.	xðɛ:w		klɛ:w	

[12] The active participle of the verb /ʒa/ has the form /ma:dʒi/ in the dialects of Cherchell, Tlemcen and Alger (Jewish). Cf. GRAND'HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 55. The Beduin dialects have as the dialect of Sūsa the form /ʒai/, see W. MARÇAIS, Le dialecte arabe des Ūlâd Brāhîm de Saïda, p. 88, and D. COHEN, Le dialecte arabe Ḥassānīya de Mauritanie, p. 110.

2nd c.	xðiːtu	kliːtu
1st c.	xðiːnɛ	kliːnɛ

Imperfect

Singular		
3rd masc.	yɛːxo	yɛːkul
3rd fem.	tɛːxo	tɛːkul
2nd c.	tɛːxo	tɛːkul
1st c.	nɛːxo	nɛːkul
Plural		
3rd c.	yɛːxðu	yɛːklu
2nd c.	tɛːxðu	tɛːklu
1st c.	nɛːxðu	nɛːklu

Imperative

Singular	xoːð	kuːl
Plural	xoːðu	kuːlu

Participles

	masc.		fem.		pl.	
Active	wɛːxüð	wɛːkil	wɛːxðɛ	wɛklɛ	wɛːxðiːn	wɛːkliːn
Passive	------	------	------	-----	--------	--------

Perfect

The verbs /xða/ and /$kl$$a$/ function as final weak verbs, i.e. the vowel is lengthened when followed by suffixes beginning with consonants.

Imperfect

In analogy with the imperfect of initial-weak verbs the vowel of the prefixes of both verbs is long.[13] In the singular the final consonant is elided in the verb /xða/.

Imperative

The imperative stem has, as in medial weak verbs, the pattern Cu:C in the singular and Cu:Cu in the plural.

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[13] The same phenomenon occurs in the dialect of Cherchell, see GRAND'HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 55.

Participles

Both verbs have an active participle only; inflected for gender and number.

1.1.8.2 Classical medial /ʔ/ verbs

With the exception of the verb /raʔa:/ 'to see' all Classical Arabic medial /ʔ/ verbs correspond to medial /h/[14] or medial weak verbs in the dialect of Sūsa.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
/saʔala/	: he asked	[shɛl]
/zaʔara/	: he roared	[zhir]
/raʔafa/	: he pitied	[ra:f]
/kaʔiba/	: he was dejected	[kɛ:b]

1.1.8.3 Classical final /ʔ/ verbs

With the exception of the verb /dʒa:ʔa/ 'to come' all Classical final /ʔ/ verbs correspond to final weak verbs in the dialect of Sūsa.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
/qaraʔa/	: he read	[qra]
/ladʒaʔa/	: he took refuge	[lɜɛ]
/badaʔa/	: he began	[bdɛ]
/malaʔa/	: he filled	[mlɛ]

1.1.9 The quadriradical verb

The quadriradical verbs are, in the dialect of Sūsa divided into the four following groups:

Form I

Verb stems with four different radicals: $C_1aC_2C_3VC_4$

[ẖatrüf]	: he pinched
[ẓarwiṭ]	: he hit someone with a cane
[qaṛṭüṣ]	: he packed
[xaḻwiḏ]	: he made a disturbance
[sɛrbɛ]	: he served (food)
[xarbiʃ]	: he scratched

14 In Cherchell the /ʔ/ is preserved in the verb /sʔəl/ 'to ask', see GRAND'HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 14.

[ɣɑrbil] : he bolted
[ʃaqlib] : he cheated

Verbs with a reduplicated stem: $C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$
[bɛḥbɛḥ] : he did something good for someone
[rabrab] : he blasphemed
[naqnaq] : he croaked, he wanted good food
[wɛlwɛl] : he lamented
[daqdaq] : he knocked
[ʃaqʃaq] : he rattled
[waʿwaʿ] : he howled
[lɛklɛk] : he nagged

Verbs where C_1 and C_3 are identical: $C_1aC_2C_1VC_3$
[kɛrkib] : he rolled
[ṣamṣür] : he acted as a broker
[dɛrdɛʿ] : he shoved
[sɛrsib] : he went down slowly
[ʃaɣʃib] : he disturbed
[qɑʃqül] : he brought about a disgrace
[bɛrbiʃ] : he poked
[farfiṭ] : he trembled

Form II of quadriradicals but never with equivalence in Form I
Verbs with the reflexive prefix {t} are always intransitive if not reflexive.
[tsɛlhɛb] : he came quickly
[tzaʿbin] : he flirted
[tʃafʃaq] : he became old
[tkɛskis] : he was illtreated
[tnɛfnɛf] : he became well off
[tnaʃwir] : he got some fresh air
[tqɑṣwir] : he used small clothes
[tbandiq] : he lived a life of luxury

Perfect
Singular

3rd masc.	daqḍaq	: he knocked	ḥatrüf	: he pinched
3rd fem.	daqəḍqüt		ḥatərfit	
2nd c.	daqḍaqṭ		ḥatrüft	

1st c.	daqd̲aqt̲	h̲atrüft
Plural		
3rd c.	daqədqo	h̲atərfu
2nd c.	daqd̲aqt̲o	h̲atrüftu
1st c.	daqd̲aqnɛ	h̲atrüfnɛ

Imperfect

Singular		
3rd masc.	ydaqd̲aq ~ idaqdaq	yh̲atrüf ~ ih̲atrüf
3rd fem.	id:aqd̲aq	th̲atrüf
2nd c.	id:aqd̲aq	th̲atrüf
1st c.	ndaqd̲aq	nh̲atrüf
Plural		
3rd c.	ydaqədqo ~ idaqədqo	yh̲atərfu ~ ih̲atərfu
2nd c.	id:aqədqo	th̲atərfu
1st c.	ndaqədqo	nh̲atərfu

Imperative

Singular	daqd̲aq	h̲atrüf
Plural	daqədqo	h̲atərfu

Participles

	masc.		fem.		pl.	
Active	daqdɛ:q	h̲atrɛ:f	daqdɛ:qɑ	h̲atra:fɛ	daqd̲aqü:n	h̲atrafi:n
Passive	mdaqd̲aq	mh̲atrüf	mdaqədqɑ	mh̲atirfɛ	mdaqədqü:n	mh̲atirfi:n

1.1.9.1 Perfect

In the dialect of Sūsa, in all quadriradical verbs, V_1 is always /a/ while V_2 can be /a/, /i/ or /u/.

[rabrab] : he blasphemed
[ʃaqʃaq] : he rattled
[xalwiǰ] : he made a disturbance
[bɛrbiʃ] : he poked
[waʃuʃu] : they whispered

Only verbs with C_3w have /u/ in 3rd p. sing. fem. and 3rd p. pl.

[waʃuʃit] : she whispered
[tnaʃuru] : they got some fresh air

An epenthetic vowel is inserted where three-consonant clusters are not allowed.

[rabərbu] : they blasphemed

[ʃaqəʃqo] : they rattled
[bɛsəbsu] : they behaved nicely
[bɛrbʃu] : they poked
[dɛrdʿu] : they shoved

1.1.9.2 Imperfect

With the exception of 3rd p. fem. all the verbs in the singular get the same stem vowels as in the perfect.

[ʃaɣʃib] : he disturbed [yʃaɣʃib] ~ [iʃaɣʃib]
[bɛrbiʃt] : you poked [tbɛrbiʃ]
[daqd̰aq̰t̰] : I knocked [ndaqd̰aq]

In the plural, only the 3rd p. gets the same stem as in the perfect.

[daqədqo] : they knocked [ydaqədqo] ~ [idaqədqo]

1.1.9.3 Imperative

In the imperative the stem is always the same as in the imperfect.

[ydaqd̰aq] ~ [idaqd̰aq] : he is knocking [daqdaq]
[ybɛrbiʃ] ~ [ibɛrbiʃ] : he is poking [bɛrbiʃ]
[yitzaʿəbnu] : they are flirting [tzaʿəbnu]
[yfarf̰t̰o] ~ [ifarf̰t̰o] : they are trembling [farf̰t̰o]

1.1.9.4 Participles

The active participle of this type of verbs has the pattern CaCCa:C in masc. and CaCCa:Ca in fem.

In the plural, there are two alternating patterns, i.e. CaCCaCi:n and CaCCa:Ci:n.

[h̰atrɛ:f] : pinching
[daqdɛ:q] : knocking
[h̰atrafi:n]~[h̰atra:fi:n] : pinching (pl.)
[daqd̰aqü:n]~[daqda:qü:n] : knocking (pl.)

The passive participle has the pattern mCaCCVC in the masculine, and the pattern mCaCCCa, mCVCCCa, mitCaCCCa and mitCaCəCCa in the feminine.

[mwɛlwɛl] : lamented
[mʃaqəʃqa] : rattled
[mbɛrbʃɛ] : poked
[mitqarf̰t̰a] : frozen
[mitzaʿəbnɛ] : flirted

In the plural there are four patterns, i.e. mCaCəCCi:n, mCaCCCi:n, mitCaCəCCi:n and mitCaCCCi:n.

[mʃaqəʃqü:n] [mbɛrbʃi:n] [mitzaʿəbni:n] [mitqarf̰t̰ü:n]

1.2 DERIVED THEMES

1.2.1 Form II

Perfect

Singular				
3rd masc.	rɛk:ɛb	: he set up	wɛk:ɛl	: he gave to eat
3rd fem.	rɛk:bit		wɛk:lit	
2nd c.	rɛk:ɛbt		wɛk:ɛlt	
1st c.	rɛk:ɛbt		wɛk:ɛlt	
Plural				
3rd c.	rɛk:bu		wɛk:lu	
2nd c.	rɛk:ɛbtu		wɛk:ɛltu	
1st c.	rɛk:ɛbnɛ		wɛk:ɛlnɛ	

Imperfect

Singular			
3rd masc.	yrɛk:ib ~ irɛk:ib	iwɛk:il	
3rd fem.	trɛk:ib	twɛk:il	
2nd c.	trɛk:ib	twɛk:il	
1st c.	nrɛk:ib	nwɛk:il	
Plural			
3rd c.	yrɛk:bu ~ irɛk:bu	iwɛk:lu	
2nd c.	trɛk:bu	twɛk:lu	
1st c.	nrɛk:bu	nwɛk:lu	

Imperative

Singular	rɛk:ib	wɛk:il
Plural	rɛk:bu	wɛk:lu

Participles

	masc.		fem.		pl.	
Active	mwɛk:il	mrɛk:ib	mwɛk:lɛ	mrɛk:bɛ	mrɛk:bi:n	mwɛk:li:n
Passive	mwɛk:ɛl	mrɛk:ɛb	mwɛk:lɛ	mrɛk:bɛ	mrɛk:bi:n	mwɛk:li:n

1.2.1.1 Perfect

With the exception of medial /y/ verbs V_1 and V_2 are always /a/.

[ʂaʔ:ab] : he made it difficult

[naq:aʂ] : he reduced

[kɛl:ɛm] : he spoke to

[kɛf:ɛr] : he made someone blaspheme
[zɛy:it] : he greased
[nɛy:ik] : he prostituted himself

1.2.1.2 Imperfect

In the singular V_2 is always /i/. The geminated verbs are shortened[15] in the plural, but due to the quality of the stem vowel the morphological opposition between Form I and II imperf. (and imp.) is preserved.

[yxam:u] ~ [ixam:u] : they think
[txam:u] : you (pl.) think
[nkɛb:u] : we twist
[tkɛb:ib] : you twist

1.2.1.3 Imperative

In the imperative, the verb stem is always the same as in the imperfect.

[yʂaˤ:üb] [iʂaˤ:üb] : he makes it difficult [ʂaˤ:üb]
[ynaq:ʂo] [inaq:ʂo] : they reduce [naq:ʂo]

1.2.1.4 Participles

In the singular masc., the morphological opposition between active and passive participles is preserved but is neutralized in the feminine and the plural.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
Active		
/*murak:ib*/	: composing	[mrak:ib]
/*munaq:iʂ*/	: reducing	[mnaq:üʂ]
Passive		
/*murak:ab*/	: composed	[mrɛk:ɛb]
/*munaq:aʂ*/	: reduced	[mnaq:aʂ]

1.2.2 Form III

	Perfect		Imperfect
Singular			
3rd masc.	ˤa:rük	: he quarreled	yˤa:rük iˤa:rük
3rd fem.	ˤa:rkit		tˤa:rük

[15] The same phenomenon occurs in the dialect of Tlemcen but in the dialect of Cherchell C_3 is preserved, see W. MARÇAIS, Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen, p. 73, and GRAND'HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 58.

2nd c.	ʿa:rükt	tʿa:rük
1st c.	ʿa:rükt	nʿa:rük
Plural		
3rd c.	ʿa:rku	yʿa:rku ~ iʿa:rku
2nd c.	ʿa:rüktu	tʿa:rku
1st c.	ʿa:rüknɛ	nʿa:rku

Imperative

Singular	ʿa:rük
Plural	ʿa:rku

Participles

	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active / Passive	mʿa:rük	mʿa:rkɛ	mʿa:rki:n

1.2.2.1 Perfect

V_1 and V_2 are always /a/ and /i/ respectively.

1.2.2.2 Imperfect

In the imperfect, the stem is always identical with the perfective stem.

[qa:bil]	: he met	[tqa:bil]
[ʿa:rku]	: they quarreled	[yʿa:rku] ~ [iʿa:rku]

1.2.2.3 Imperative

In the imperative, the stem is always the same as in the imperfect.

/yḫa:rib/	: he is making war	[h̃a:rüb]
/yʿa:rku/	: they are quarreling	[ʿa:rku]

1.2.2.4 Participles

There is only one participle which can be both passive and active, i.e. the same stem in both morphological categories.

1.2.3 Form IV

Verbs morphologically corresponding to the Classical Arabic *ʔafʿala* do not occur in the dialect of Sūsa.[16] Its functions have passed over to Form II.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
/ʔadxala/	: he made someone come in	[dax:al]

[16] The verbal form *ʔafʿal* is absent in all North African dialects.

/ʔaslama/ : he gave up [sɛl:ɛm]

1.2.4 Form V

	Perfect		Imperfect
Singular			
3rd masc.	tkɛs:ɛr	: he (it) got broken	yitkɛs:ir
3rd fem.	tkɛs:rüt		titkɛs:ir
2nd c.	tkɛs:ɛrt		titkɛs:ir
1st c.	tkɛs:ɛrt		nitkɛs:ir
Plural			
3rd c.	tkɛs:ro		yitkɛs:ro
2nd c.	tkɛs:ɛrtu		titkɛs:ro
1st c.	tkɛs:ɛrnɛ		nitkɛs:ro

Imperative

Singular	tkɛs:ir ~ itkɛs:ir
Plural	tkɛs:ro ~ itkɛs:ro

Participles

	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active / Passive	mitkɛs:ir	mitkɛs:ra	mitkɛs:rü:n

1.2.4.1 Perfect

In final strong verbs both stem vowels are /a/, the latter of which is dropped when the syllable is opened: [tkɛs:ɛr] + {-u} --→ [tkɛs:ro].

[tkɛs:ɛr] [tkɛs:rüt] [tkɛs:ro]

In most idiolects, the reflexive morpheme {t}[17] does not assimilate to the following consonant. In order to maintain the morphological distinction, the reflexive morpheme is, when followed by a dental stop, preceded by an epenthetic vowel, i.e. the consonants are separated from each other by the syllable limit.

[tṣaʕ:ab] : he became difficult

[itdar:aq] : he hided himself

[itṭaw:aʕ] : he became a volunteer

[17] The prefix /t/ in the dialect of Cherchell, as in the dialect of Sūsa, does not assimilate to the first consonant of the root as it is the case in the dialect of Djidjelli and Bou-Saâda, see GRAND'HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 60.

1.2.4.2 Imperfect

The second stem vowel is /a/ in the older generation's idiolects and /i/ in most idiolects of the younger generation. The imperfect prefix has always the vowel /i/.

1.2.4.3 Imperative

In the imperative, the syllabic structure of the stems as well as their vocalism is the same as in the imperfect. Women and especially men in the older generation have the epenthetic vowel /i/ before the reflexive morpheme when followed by a dental stop only while all speakers in the younger generation use the epenthetic vowel in all verbs in the imperative.

1.2.4.4 Participles

In the participles there is no distinction between the active and the passive patterns.

Perfect		Passive participle	Active participle
[tkɛs:ɛr]	: it was broken	[mitkɛs:ir]	[mitkɛs:ir]
[tnɛk:ɛr]	: he disguised	[mitnɛk:ir]	[mitnɛk:ir]

1.2.5 Form VI

	Perfect		Imperfect
Singular			
3rd masc.	tqɑ:bil	: he met	yitqɑ:bil
3rd fem.	tqɑ:blit		titqɑ:bil
2nd c.	tqɑ:bilt		titqɑ:bil
1st c.	tqɑ:bilt		nitqɑ:bil
Plural			
3rd c.	tqɑ:blu		yitqɑ:blu
2nd c.	tqɑ:biltu		titqɑ:blu
1st c.	tqɑ:bilt		nitqɑ:blu

Imperative

Singular	tqɑ:bil	~ itqɑ:bil
Plural	tqɑ:blu	~ itqɑ:blu

Participles

	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active Passive	mitqɑ:bil	mitqɑ:blɛ	mitqɑ:bli:n

1.2.5.1 Perfect

The prefix /t/ here, as in the fifth form, does not undergo any phonological change. /i/ is prefixed when /t/ precedes a dental stop.

1.2.5.2 Imperfect

The imperfect prefix has always the vowel /i/.

1.2.5.3 Imperative

In the imperative, the verb stem is always identical with the imperfective stem. The epenthetic vowel occurs before the reflexive morpheme when followed by a dental stop.

[yitdɛ:wnu]	: they become enemies	[itdɛ:wnu]
[yitt̪a:wiʔ]	: he agrees	[itt̪a:wiʔ]
[yitʔa:wnu]	: they cooperate	[tʔa:wnu]

1.2.5.4 Participles

Both the active and the passive participles have the pattern mitCa:CiC in common.

1.2.6 Form VII

Verbs morphologically corresponding to the Classical Arabic *ʔinfaʕala* do not occur in the dialect of Sūsa. In the corresponding reflexive-passive function, the dialect of Sūsa uses the pattern *tifʕal*, i.e. the reflexive morpheme { t } plus Form I.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
/ʔinqasama/	: it fell apart	[tiqs̪am]
/ʔinh̪al:a/	: it was dissolved	[th̪al:]

Perfect

Singular

3rd masc.	tiqs̪am	: he fell apart	th̪al:	: it was opened	tuʒid: : he existed
3rd fem.	tqas̪mit		th̪al:it		twiʒdit
2nd c.	tiqs̪amt		th̪al:i:t		tuʒit:
1st c.	tiqs̪amt		th̪al:i:t		tuʒit:

Plural

3rd c.	tqas̪mu	th̪al:u	twiʒdu
2nd c.	tiqs̪amtu	th̪al:i:tu	tuʒit:u
1st c.	tiqs̪amnɛ	th̪al:i:nɛ	tuʒidnɛ

Imperfect

Singular			
3rd masc.	yitəqṣam	yitḫal:	yituʒid
3rd fem.	titəqṣam	titḫal:	tituʒid
2nd c.	titəqṣam	titḫal:	tituʒid
1st c.	nitəqṣam	nitḫal:	nituʒid
Plural			
3rd c.	yitqaṣmu	yitḫal:u	yitwiʒdu
2nd c.	titqaṣmu	titḫal:u	titwiʒdu
1st c.	nitqaṣmu	nitḫal:u	nitwiʒdu

Imperative

Singular	itəqṣam	itḫal:	ituʒid:
Plural	itqaṣmu	itḫal:u	itwiʒdu

Participles

	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active	----- ----- -----	----- ----- -----	----- ----- -----
Passive	----- ----- -----	----- ----- -----	----- ----- -----

1.2.6.1 Perfect

In the verb /*tuʒid*/, the weak radical /w/ is realized as /u/ in all persons with the exception of /*twiʒdit*/ and /*twiʒdu*/, i.e. in a closed syllable.

1.2.6.2 Imperfect

In the singular an epenthetic vowel is inserted when three-consonant clusters are not allowed.

1.2.6.3 Imperative

In the imperative, the syllabic structure of the stems as well as their vocalism is the same as in the imperfect.

1.2.6.4 Participles

There are no participles formed from this type of verb.

1.2.7 Form VIII

Perfect

Singular

3rd masc.	nt̪ar:	: he committed suicide	ht̪ɛ:ʒ		: he needed

3rd fem.	ntaḫrüt	ḫtɛ:ʒit
2nd c.	nt̪ḫart	ḫtiʒt
1st c.	nt̪ḫart	ḫtiʒt
Plural		
3rd c.	ntaḫro	ḫtɛ:ʒu
2nd c.	nt̪ḫartu	ḫtiʒtu
1st c.	nt̪ḫarnɛ	ḫtiʒnɛ

Imperfect

Singular		
3rd masc.	yint̪ḫar	yaḫtɛ:ʒ
3rd fem.	tint̪ḫar	taḫtɛ:ʒ
2nd c.	tint̪ḫar	taḫtɛ:ʒ
1st c.	nint̪ḫar	naḫtɛ:ʒ
Plural		
3rd c.	yintaḫro	yaḫtɛ:ʒu
2nd c.	tintaḫro	taḫrɛ:ʒu
1st c.	nintaḫro	naḫtɛ:ʒu

Imperative

Singular	nt̪ḫar	ḫtɛ:ʒ
Plural	ntaḫro	ḫtɛ:ʒu

Participles

	masc.		fem.		pl.	
Active	mint̪ḫar	muḫtɛ:ʒ	mintaḫra	muḫtɛ:ʒɛ	mintaḫrü:n	muḫtɛ:ʒi:n
Passive						

There are several variants of Form VIII in Classical Arabic.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
/ʔizdaḫama/	: it became crowded	[zḫa:mit]
/ʔiḫta:ra/	: he became confused	[ḫa:r]
/ʔiʃtaɣala/	: he became busy	[tiʃɣal]
/ʔit:aṣala/	: he contacted	[twaṣ:ül]
/ʔiʃtara:/	: he bought	[ʃrɛ]

Verbs of the type /ʔiʃtara:/ in Classical Arabic correspond usually to verbs with the form *fʿa* in the dialect of Sūsa.

/ʔiʃtara:/	: he bought	[ʃrɛ]
/ʔiʃtaka:/	: he complained	[ʃkɛ]
/ʔiktara:/	: he hired	[krɛ]

1.2.7.1 Perfect

The stem vowel is /a/ as in Classical Arabic.

1.2.7.2 Imperfect

In strong verbs the vowel of the prefix is /i/ and the stem vowel is /a/. In the verb /ɣ̃ta:ʒ/ the imperfect prefix has the same vowel as the verb stem. However, in the idiolects of the younger generation /a/ is replaced by /i/, e.g. /yiɣ̃ta:ʒ/ and /tiɣ̃ta:ʒ/.

1.2.7.3 Imperative

The imperative stem is always the same as in the imperfect.

1.2.7.4 Participles

In the participles there is no distinction between the active and passive patterns. The verbs of the type /ntɣ̃ar/ have the pattern mintCaC, while the verbs of the type /ɣ̃ta:ʒ/ have the pattern muCta:C.

1.2.8 Form IX

The form *ʔifʕal:a* in Classical Arabic has no formal counterpart in the dialect of Sūsa but it is related semantically to the pattern *fʕa:l*.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
/ʔiɣ̃mar:a/	: he became red	[ɣ̃ma:r]
/ʔiʕwadʒ:a/	: he became crooked	[ʕwɛ:ʒ]

Perfect

Singular				
3rd masc.	ɣ̃ma:r	: he became red	zyɛ:n	: he became beautiful
3rd fem.	ɣ̃ma:rüt		zyɛ:nit	
2nd c.	ɣ̃murt		zyint	
1st c.	ɣ̃murt		zyint	
Plural				
3rd c.	ɣ̃ma:ro		zyɛ:nu	
2nd c.	ɣ̃murtu		zyintu	
1st c.	ɣ̃murnɛ		zyin:ɛ	

Imperfect

Singular		
3rd masc.	yiɣ̃ma:r	yizyɛ:n

3rd fem.	tiḫ̃ma:r	tizyɛ:n
2nd c.	tiḫ̃ma:r	tizyɛ:n
1st c.	niḫ̃ma:r	nizyɛ:n
Plural		
3rd c.	yiḫ̃ma:ro	yizyɛ:nu
2nd c.	tiḫ̃ma:ro	tizyɛ:nu
1st c.	niḫ̃ma:ro	nizyɛ:nu

Imperative

Singular	ḫ̃ma:r ∼ iḫ̃ma:r	zyɛ:n ∼ izyɛ:n
Plural	ḫ̃ma:ro ∼ iḫ̃ma:ro	zyɛ:nu ∼ izyɛ:nu

Participles

	masc.		fem.		pl.	
Active	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Passive	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

1.2.8.1 Perfect

In 2nd and 1st p. sing. and pl., the vowel after C_2 is /u/ or /i/ depending on the consonantal environment, i.e. the vowel /u/ occurs when the stem includes an emphatic consonant, a pharyngal, an uvular or /r/.

[ṣfurt]	: I became pale
[zroqnɛ]	: we became blue
[xð̃ortu]	: you (pl.) became green
[zyint]	: I became beautiful
[ð̃biltu]	: you (pl.) became pale
[smin:ɛ]	: we became fat

1.2.8.2 Imperfect

The imperfect prefix has the vowel /i/ while the stem vowel is /a/.

1.2.8.3 Imperative

The imperative stem is identical with the imperfect stem.

1.2.9 Form X

Perfect

Singular

3rd masc.	[stɛḫ̃sɛn]	: he married	[stˤa:r]	: he got ashamed	[stqɑl:]	he became independent

3rd fem.	stɛḫəsnit	stʳa:rüt	stqɑl:it
2nd c.	stɛḫsɛnt	stʳürt	stqɑl:i:t
1st c.	stɛḫsɛnt	stʳürt	stqɑl:i:t
Plural			
3rd c.	stɛḫəsnu	stʳa:ro	stqɑl:u
2nd c.	stɛḫsɛntu	stʳürtu	stqɑl:i:tu
1st c.	stɛḫsɛn:ɛ	stʳürnɛ	stqɑl:i:nɛ

Imperfect

Singular			
3rd masc.	yistɛḫsin	yistʳa:r	yistqɑl:
3rd fem.	tistɛḫsin	tistʳa:r	tistqɑl:
2nd c.	tistɛḫsin	tistʳa:r	tistqɑl:
1st c.	nistɛḫsin	nistʳa:r	nistqɑl:
Plural			
3rd c.	yistɛḫəsnu	yistʳa:ro	yistqɑl:u
2nd c.	tistɛḫəsnu	tistʳa:ro	tistqɑl:u
1st c.	nistɛḫəsnu	nistʳa:ro	nistqɑl:u

Imperative

Singular	stɛḫsin	stʳa:r	stqɑl:
Plural	stɛḫəsnu	stʳa:ro	stqɑl:u

Participles

	masc.		fem.		
Active Passive	mistɛḫsin	mistʳa:r mistqɑl:	mistɛḫəsnɛ	mistʳa:ra	mistqɑl:ɛ
	pl.				
Active Passive	mistɛḫəsni:n	mistʳa:rü:n mistqɑl:i:n			

Verbs of Form X are often used by women and speakers of the older generation when speaking euphemistically, i.e. the male speakers of the younger generation use usually other expressions to denote the same meaning.

women and men of the older generation		young men
[stɛfʳal]	: he raped	[nɛ:k bis:i:f]
[stɣɑl:]	: he exploited (someone)	[tmaʳ:]

1.2.9.1 Perfect

The prefix /st/ is followed by /a/ when the verb stem has an initial consonant cluster.

[stɛbnɛ] : he adopted (a child)

[stɛŋsɛn] : he got married

but

[stɾa:r] : he got ashamed

Medially, an epenthetic vowel is inserted when three-consonant clusters are not allowed.

[stɛŋəsnu] : they got married

but

[stɛrʒlu] : they behaved kindly

In the verb /*stawla*/ 'he confiscated', the diphthong /aw/ is for morphological reasons preserved both in the perfect and in the imperfect.

[stɛwli:t] : I confiscated

[stɛwlɛ:t] : she confiscated

[stɛwli:nɛ] : we confiscated

[nistɛwlɛ] : I confiscate

[tistɛwlɛ] : she confiscates

[yistɛwlɛ:w] : they confiscate

1.2.9.2 Imperfect

The imperfect prefix always has the vowel /i/.

1.2.9.3 Imperative

In the imperative the stem is as in the imperfect.

1.2.9.4 Participles

Both the active and the passive participles have one pattern in common.

The dialect of Sūsa as well as Classical Arabic has three types of nouns, i.e. participles, verbal nouns and substantives. Participles and substantives can be regarded as pure substantives or as adjectival substantives.

2.1 PARTICIPLES

Participles are subdivided into two groups: verbal and nominal. The participles formed from the derived themes are most usually verbal.

2.1.1 Verbal participles

2.1.1.1 Active participles

The verbal active participle occurs as a verbal attribute and denotes a present continuous action or a resultative aspect but can also occur as a substantive.

[ir:a:ʒil qa:til martu]: the man is killing his wife
[id:a:r bɛ:yiḫ:a] : he had (already) sold the house
[ɸlqa:til mɛ:t] : the murderer died

However, any active participle can also denote continuous actions when preceded by /ka:n/ or /ra/.

[kunt xa:ġür] : I was losing
[ra:k ra:biḫ] : you are winning

2.1.1.2 Passive participles

The verbal passive participle occurs only as a verbal attribute.

[da:r mɛdhu:nɛ] : a painted house
[ḫü:ṭ maʃqo:q] : a cracked wall

2.1.2 Nominal participles

2.1.2.1 Active participles

The nominal active participle does never occur as a verbal attribute.

[ḫa:ʒib] : caretaker
[nɛ:yib] : representant
[tɛ:ʒir] : merchant

2.1.2.2 Passive participles

The nominal passive participle can both occur as a substantive and an

adjective.

[mɛktu:b] : destiny, written

[maḫbu:b] : gold coins (coll.), loved

[maʿʒu:n] : jam, squeezed together

2.1.3 Derived participles

2.1.3.1 Form II

There are two participles: active and passive.

[mrɛk:ib] : composing

[mʿal:im] : learning, teaching

[mrɛk:ɛb] : composed

[mʿal:ɛm] : learnt

2.1.3.2 Form III

Both active and passive participles have the same pattern.

[mʿa:nid] : obstinating, obstinate

[mʿa:ʃir] : living together with, having lived together with

2.1.3.3 Form V

There is no morphological distinction between active and passive participles.

[mitkɛs:ir] : breaking, broken

[mitkɛb:ir] : acting as a snob, being a snob

[mitnɛk:ir] : disguising, disguised

2.1.3.4 Form VI

There are two participles having the same pattern: an active and a passive.

[mitnɛ:sib] : to be related to one another, interrelating

[miṯa:sib] : settling a mutual account, having settled a mutual account

2.1.3.5 Form VIII

The active and the passive participle have the same pattern.

[mintaḫra] : committing suicide, having committed suicide

[muḫtɛ:ʒɛ] : having need, having been in need

2.1.3.6 Form X

Both active and passive participles have one pattern in common.

[mistɛḫsin] : deeming, married

[mistɣal:] : exploiting, exploited

[mistʿa:r] : becoming ashamed, ashamed

2.2 VERBAL NOUNS

Verbal nouns or the so-called 'maṣdar' differ from substantives and participles in having no plural. Verbal nouns denote an action and function as infinitives.

2.2.1 Triradical verbal nouns

2.2.1.1 Pattern CVCC(a)

The stem vowel is /a/, /i/ or /u/.

[ḍrab]	: he hit	[ḍarb]	: hitting
[nhib]	: he swindled	[nʿhb]	: swindling
[nʃar]	: he spread	[naʃr]	: spreading
[ksib]	: he gained	[kɛsb]	: gaining
[ʿlim]	: he knew	[ʿilm]	: knowing
[ḥsid]	: he envied	[ḥusd]	: envying
[kfar]	: he blasphemed	[kufr]	: blaspheming
[ṣʿoḅ]	: he became difficult	[ṣoʿḅ]	: difficulty

Verbal nouns with this pattern are very usual in all North African dialects. The form *fiʿla* is pure dialectal and occurs rarely in the dialect of Sūsa.

[qṣam]	: he shared, he divided	[qüṣma]	: sharing, dividing
[xṭaf]	: he snatched	[xüṭṭfa]	: snatching

Verbal nouns having the pattern CCVC occur rarely in any Tunisian dialect. In the dialect of Sūsa the pattern CCVC alternates with the pattern CVCC.

[sɛ:fir]	: he traveled	[sfɛr] ~ [sɛfr]	: travelling
[ḥmil]	: he carried	[hmɛl] ~ [ḥaml]	: carrying

2.2.1.2 Pattern CCV:C

The stem vowel is /a:/, /u:/ or /i:/. Verbal nouns having /u:/ or /i:/ in Classical Arabic have usually the same vowel when occurring in the dialect of Sūsa.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa		
/hubl/	: being foolish	[hbil]	: he became foolish	[hbɛ:l]
/ɛama:ḥ/	: forgiving	[sɛ:miḥ]	: he forgave	[smɛ:ḥ]
/quʿu:d/	: sitting	[qʿad]	: he sat down	[qʿa:d]~[qʿo:d]
/ruku:b/	: riding	[rkib]	: he rode	[rku:b]
/huru:b/	: running away	[hrab]	: he ran away	[hro:b]

/ʃaṯḥ/	: dancing	[ʃ̲ṯaḥ]	: he danced	[ʃṯ̲ü:ḥ̲]
/raʳʃ/	: trembling	|rʳoʃ|	: he trembled	[rʳü:ʃ]
/nabi:ḥ/	: barking	|nb̲aḥ̲|	: he barked	[nbi:ḥ̲]

The realization of /w/ as /u/ makes the pattern CCu:C alternate with uCu:C.

/wuǧu:l/	: arrival	[wǧ̲ül]~[uǧ̲ül]	: he arrived	[wǧ̲o:l]~[uǧ̲o:l]
/wuqu:f/	: standing up	[wqüf]~[uqüf]	: he stood up	[wqo:f̲]~[uqo:f]

Verbal nouns with the pattern *fʳa:la* occur rarely in any Tunisian dialect, e.g. the dialect of Sūsa has only two instances of the pattern.

[ʳraḏ̲]	: he invited	[ʳra:ḏ̲a]	: inviting
|l̲ṯ̲of|	: he acted friendly	[l̲ṯ̲a:fɛ]	: acting friendly

The pattern *fʳu:la* denotes most usually a physical or a chemical change.

[ḫ̲ma:r]	: he turned red	[ḫ̲mu:ra]	: turning red
[brid]	: he felt cold	[bru:dɛ]	: feeling cold

There are no verbal nouns having the pattern *fʳi:la* in the dialect of Sūsa.[1]

2.2.1.3 Patterns CVCCa:n and CCu:Ciy:a

Verbal nouns with these patterns are very usual in the dialect of Sūsa.

CaCCa:n

Due to the realization of /wa/ as [u] the medial-weak verbs get the pattern CuCa:n.

[qlib]	: he turned	[qalbɛ:n]	: turning
[ḫ̲fir]	: he dug	[ḫ̲afra:n]	: digging
[ʃḫ̲aṯ̲]	: he flogged	[ʃaḫ̲ṯ̲a:n]	: flogging
[ʃwɛ]	: he grilled	[ʃuyɛ:n]	: grilling
[swɛ]	: he arranged	[suyɛ:n]	: arranging
[bkɛ]	: he wept	[bɛkyɛ:n]	: weeping
[ḫ̲aṯ̲:]	: he put	[ḫ̲aṯ̲:a:n]	: putting
[bɛl:]	: he wetted	[bɛl:ɛ:n]	: wetting
[qa:l]	: he said	[qolɛ:n]	: saying
[bɛ:l]	: he urinated	[bulɛ:n]	: urinating

CCu:Ciy:a

Verbal nouns having the pattern CCu:Ciy:a are formed from the form *fʳa:l* when describing a physical phenomenon and from regular verbs Form I when denoting an immoral act.

[bya:ḏ̲]	: he became white	[byu:ḏ̲üy:ɛ]	: white coloration
[ṯ̲wa:l]	: he became tall	[ṯ̲wu:liy:ɛ]	: being tall
[zra:q]	: he became blue	[zro:qüy:ɛ]	: blue coloration

[1] The verbal noun with the pattern *fʳi:la* occurs in the dialect of Djemmal in the lexical item /rʳi:ʃa/.

[ʂqoṭ]	: he acted shamefully	[ʂqo:ṭüy:ɛ]	: acting shamefully
[nɛ:k]	: he had sexual intercourse	[nyu:kiy:ɛ]	: prostituting

2.2.1.4 Patterns CV:C and CVCa:n

These verbal nouns are only formed from medial-weak verbs. The stem is always identical with the singular imperative stem when the characteristic vowel is /i/ or /u/.

CV:C

[ʂa:m]	: he fasted	[ʂo:m]	: fasting
[nɛ:m]	: he slept	[nu:m]	: sleeping
[bɛ:ʔ]	: he sold	[bi:ʔ]	: selling

CVCa:n

[sɛ:m]	: he bargained	[sumɛ:n]	: bargaining
[ʔa:m]	: he bathed	[ʔomɛ:n]	: bathing, swimming
[fɛ:q]	: he waked up	[fiqɑ:n]	: waking up
[qɑ:m]	: he took	[qümɛ:n]	: taking

2.2.1.5 Patterns CCa and CCa:ya

Only final-weak verbs can form verbal nouns with these patterns.

CCa

The verbal noun stems are identical with the perfect stem 3rd p. sing. masc.

[ɣlɛ]	: he became dear	[ɣlɛ]	: dearness
[ʃfɛ]	: he cured	[ʃfɛ]	: curing
[ʔmɛ]	: he became blind	[ʔmɛ]	: blindness

CCa:ya

This pattern occurs in one single lexical item.

[qra]	: he read	[qra:yɛ]	: reading

2.2.2 Derived verbal nouns

2.2.2.1 Form II; taCCi:C[2]

[nɛb:ɛh]	: he warned	[tɛnbi:h]	: warning
[kɛs:ɛr]	: he broke	[tɛksi:r]	: breaking
[ʔal:ɛm]	: he teached	[taʔli:m]	: teaching

[2] The dialect of Sūsa does not have the pattern taCCa:C which occurs in many North African dialects, see W. MARÇAIS, Le dialecte arabe parlẽ ā Tlemcen, p. 92, Le dialecte arabe des Ūlâd Brāhîm de Saïda, p. 121, and GRAND'HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 74.

2.2.2.2 Form III; mCa:CCa

[qɑ:bil]	: he met	[mqɑ:blɛ]	: meeting
[qɑ:rün]	: he compared	[mqɑ:rnɛ]	: comparing
[h̃a:sib]	: he settled an account	[mh̃a:sbɛ]	: settling an account

2.2.2.3 Form V; taCCi:C

[tʔal:ɛm]	: he learned	[taʔli:m]	: learning
[t̲ʔal:ɛq]	: he got suspended	[taʔli:q]	: being suspended
[tmɛs:ax]	: he became dirty	[tɛmsi:x]	: becoming dirty

2.2.2.4 Form VI; tCaCi:C

[tʔa:rük]	: he became engaged in a fight	[tʔarü:k]	: fighting
[txa:ş̲üm]	: he quarreled	[txaş̲ü:m]	: quarreling
[tnɛ:fiq]	: he played the hypocrite	[tnɛfi:q]	: playing the hypocrite

2.2.2.5 Form VIII; CCiCa:C

[h̃tɛ:ʒ]	: he needed	[h̃tiyɛ:ʒ]	: needing
[nth̃ar]	: he committed suicide	[ntih̃a:r]	: committing suicide

2.2.2.6 Form X; stiCCa:C

[stmar:]	: he continued	[stimra:r]	: continuing
[stɣɑl:]	: he exploited	[stiɣlɛ:l]	: exploiting
[stɛʔmɛl]	: he used	[stiʔmɛ:l]	: using, exploiting

The verbal noun formed from the verb */stawla/* has the pattern stiCa, however this form occurs in a few idiolects only.

[stɛwlɛ]	: he confiscated	[stilɛ]	: confiscating

2.2.3 Quadriradical verbal nouns

2.2.3.1 Pattern tCaCCi:C

[wɛlwɛl]	: he lamented	[twɛlwi:l]	: lamenting
[ʃaɣʃib]	: he disturbed	[tʃaɣʃi:b]	: disturbing

2.3 SUBSTANTIVES

There are two types of substantives: pure and adjectival[3] substantives. In order to avoid overlapping only pure substantives are listed in the following classification.

2.3.1 Biradical substantive stems

Biradical substantives correspond usually to 'hamzated' bi- and triradical substantives in Classical Arabic.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
/ʔahl/	: parents	[ɛhl]
/ʔum:/	: mother	[um:]
/ʔuxt/	: sister	[uxt]
/ʔab/	: father	[bu]
/ʔax/	: brother	[xo]
/ma:ʔ/	: water	[mɛ]

2.3.2 Triradical substantive stems

Substantive stems with the patterns CCVC and CVCC are very frequent in all Western dialects.

2.3.2.1 Strong triradical substantive stems

Pattern CCVC

[b̪ẖar]	: sea
[qb̪ar]	: grave
[ʔʒil]	: bull
[rʒil]	: foot
[s̪b̪oʔ]	: finger
[ʔm̪or]	: age

Pattern CVCC

[qalb]	: heart
[qarn]	: century
[b̪or̪t̪]	: harbour, port
[gurt]	: hay
[misk]	: perfume
[qüs̪t̪]	: a part

[3] An adjectival substantive is a substantive being able to function as noun and adjective, e.g. /qwi/ 'strong', 'strong man'.

Pattern CVCCa

There are two types of substantives having this pattern:

Substantives with the stem vowel /a/ and inflected from collectives having the pattern CCaC.

[bsal]	: onions	[basla]	: an onion
[qmɛl]	: lice	[qɑmlɛ]	: a louse

Feminine substantives.

[karmɛ]	: fig-tree
[marqɑ]	: sauce
[zibdɛ]	: butter
[hüsbɛ]	: account
[hosbɛ]	: measles
[rokbɛ]	: knee

2.3.2.2 Geminate substantive stems

Pattern CVC

[xad:]	: cheek
[nas:]	: text
[ʒid:]	: grandfather
[hüs:]	: sound
[fum:]	: mouth
[hob:]	: love

Pattern CVC:a

[ðɛl:ɛ]	: shame
[zɛl:ɛ]	: mistake
[qüs:a]	: a fairy tale
[hüs:a]	: period
[qob:ɛ]	: dome
[qof:ɛ]	: basket

Substantives with the stem vowel /u/ are very rare in all Tunisian dialects. Only substantive stems where C_1 consists of /q/ and C_2 of a labial enclose the characteristic vowel /u/.

2.3.2.3 Initial-weak substantive stems

Pattern wCaC ~ uCaC

[whal] ~ [uhal]	: clay soil
[wʒaq] ~ [uʒaq]	: (kitchen) sink
[wsax] ~ [usax]	: dirt

Pattern waCCa

[waqra]	: pimple

[wamyɛ] : burst of laughter
[wazra] : blanket
[warda] : a rose

2.3.2.4 Medial-weak substantive stems

Pattern CV:C

[na:r] : fire
[ʿa:r] : shame
[kɛ:s] : glas
[s̰o:r] : surrounding wall
[bu:l] : urine
[s̰o:q] : market

Pattern CV:Ca

[ʿa:dɛ] : habit
[kɛ:sɛ] : face-flannel
[ku:ra] : ball
[du:ra] : circle
[xü:bɛ] : disappointment
[h̰ü:lɛ] : trick

2.3.2.5 Final-weak substantive stems

Pattern CCa

[hwɛ] : air
[myɛ] : hundred
[mra] : woman

Patterns CCi and CCiy:a

[θni] : two-year old animal
[nbi] : prophet
[θniy:a] : road
[mziy:a] : favour

Pattern CCu

[h̰su] : porridge
[ʿbu] : a person of the same age

2.3.2.6 Other triradical substantive stems

Pattern CCV:C

[blɛ:d] : country
[ʃra:b] : wine
[t̰ra:b] : sand
[f̰̰to:r] : lunch

[ʂ̰ho:r] : last meal before daybreak during the month of Ramadan

[zbi:b] : raisin

[ẖʃi:ʃ] : grass

[ẖli:b] : milk

Substantives with the stem vowel /u:/ are very rare in all the Tunisian dialects. The patterns CCu:C is a usual plural form in the dialect of Sūsa, e.g. */qlu:b/* 'hearts' */kru:ʃ/* 'stomachs'.

Pattern CCV:Ca

[qwɛ:dɛ] : gossip

[dʒɛ:ʒɛ] : hen

[slɛ:mɛ] : safety

[ẖku:mɛ] : government

[kro:mɛ] : nape

[blu:mɛ] : nib

[nqü:ʃɛ] : engraving

[zrü:bɛ] : stable

[nti:ʒɛ] : result

Pattern CaCu:Ca

[nɛmu:sɛ] : mosquito

[gɛzu:zɛ] : soft drink

[qɑdu:mɛ] : hammer

Pattern CuC:iC

Substantives with this pattern are very rare in all the Tunisian dialects, e.g. the dialect of Sūsa has a single substantive having this form.

[suk:ir] : sugar

Pattern CCuC:a

Only one example with this pattern was found in the dialect of Sūsa.

[mruw:ɛ] : favour

Pattern CVC:V:C

[xay:a:ṯ] : tailor

[zaẓ:a:r] : butcher

[kɛn:ɛ:s] : sweeper

[kul:ɛ:b] : tang

[kut:ɛ:b] : Koran school (lowest elementary school)

[ẖal:u:f] : pig

[fɛl:u:s] : chicken

[bɛl:u:ṯ] : bluff

[ʔok:i:ʃ] : cramp

[ḇaṯ:ü:x] : melon

[mir:ü:x] : Mars

Pattern CVC:V:Ca

[kɛr:a:sɛ] : exercise-book
[nɛw:ɛ:ra] : flower
[ʒɛb:ɛ:nɛ] : cemetery
[ðib:ɛ:nɛ] : fly
[kɛr:o:sɛ] : cab
[ʃɛl:u:fɛ] : lip
[bɛl:u:t̪a] : ear-ring
[sik:i:nɛ] : knife
[qol:i:bɛ] : swing

Substantives with the vocalic pattern a-a:-(a) are most frequent in all Tunisian dialects and can be opposed to the pattern i-a-(a) which only occurs in one single example, e.g. /*ðib:a:na*/. In the remaining substantives, V_1 is always /a/ when V_2 is /u:/ and any vowel when the latter is /i:/.

2.3.3 Quadriradical substantive stems

2.3.3.1 Substantive stems with four different radicals

All substantive stems enclose one resonant at least.

Pattern CaCCa:C

[qɑrdɛ:ʃ] : carding comb
[h̪atrɛ:f] : thief
[ʒɛndɛ:l] : pony-tail

Pattern CuCCa:C

[s̪ol̪t̪a:n] : sultan
[ɣorbɛ:l] : sieve
[qom̪s̪a:n] : water-jug

Pattern CiCCa:C

[sirwɛ:l] : trousers

Only one substantive having this pattern occurs in the dialect of Sūsa.

Pattern CaCCi:C

[qɑndi:l] : oil lamp
[karbi:l] : carbin

These are the only substantives of this pattern occurring in the dialect of Sūsa.

Pattern CiCCi:C

[bindi:r] : eardrum
[hinʃi:r] : arable land
[ʿüfrü:t] : malicious

Pattern CuCCi:C

[burdi:ɳ] : brothel

[kurni:ʃ] : a place in Sūsa

The only occurring substantives with this pattern are loan words from French.

Pattern CaCCu:C

[kɛntu:l] : stone bloch

[qɑnfu:d] : hedgehog

[ɣɑrnu:q] : crane

Pattern CuCCa:Ca

[ʒurmɛ:nɛ] : goose

[ʀosbɛ:nɛ] : meat boll

[mungɛ:lɛ] : watch

Pattern CCuCC

[kromb] : cabbage

[ʃromb] : twig

Pattern CuCCCa ~ CuCəCCa

[bundqɑ] : hazel tree

[fuzədqɑ] : pistachio

Pattern CCu:CCu

[bro:klu] : cauliflower

2.3.3.2 Substantive stems where C_1 and C_3 are identical

Pattern $C_1VC_2C_1a:C_3$

[s̃am̃sa:r] : broker

[gurgɛ:b] : boring-machine

[firfɛ:s] : bad temper

Substantives with this pattern are very rare in all Tunisian dialects.

2.3.3.3 Substantive stems where C_1 and C_2 are identical with C_3 and C_4

Pattern $C_1VC_2C_1a:C_2$

[mɛʃmɛ:ʃ] : apricot

[bɛsbɛ:s] : aniseed

[fɛʃfɛ:ʃ] : spray

[xolxa:l] : anklet

V_1 is /a/ or /u/ but never /i/.

2.3.3.4 Substantives enclosing a reduplicated stem

Pattern $C_1iC_2iC_1C_2$

[ʒilʒil] : cowbell

[filfil] : pepper

2.3.4 Substantive stems with five radicals

2.3.4.1 Pattern CCaCCCa

[sfɛrʒlɛ] : a quince

[qronflɛ] : a carnation

2.3.5 Affixed substantive stems

2.3.5.1 Prefixed substantive stems

Pattern mVCCVC

[mɛdfɛr] : machine gun, cannon

[maʂqaf] : roof over

[mizwid] : bagpipe

[miɣrüb] : time of sunset

There are two possible vocalic patterns, i.e. a-a and i-i.

Pattern mCaC

[mʂaʂ:] : scissors

[mẖal:] : residence, commercial house

[mraʃ:] : perfume spray

Pattern mCaC:a

[mʂam:a] : building site

[mlɛm:ɛ] : body of people

[mkɛb:ɛ] : cover

Pattern mCi:Ca

[mʂü:bɛ] : disaster, misfortune

[mrü:ʃɛ] : means of subsistence

Substantives with this pattern are very rare in all Tunisian dialects. Thus the dialect of Sūsa has these two substantives only.

Pattern muCCa:C

[muxta:f] : hook

[musmɛ:r] : nail

[munʃa:r] : saw

All substantives having this form denote tools.

Pattern mVCa:C

[mizɛ:n] : balance

[miḥa:ḍ] : toilet

[mɛnɛ:ʒ] : amusement park

[mɛkɛ:n][4] : place

There are two possible vocalic patterns: i-a: and a-a.

Pattern taCCi:Ca

[tɛbdi:lɛ] : suit (of clothes)

[tɛrki:nɛ] : corner

[tɛsbi:lɛ] : alibi

2.3.5.2 Suffixed substantive stems

Pattern CCa:CCi

The suffix /i/ denotes most usually profession.

[ṣḅa:ḅṭü] : shoemaker

[kra:rsi] : coachman, driver

[ḥwɛ:nti] : shop keeper, merchant

Pattern CCiy:a

[ʕʃiy:ɛ] : afternoon

[mziy:ɛ] : favour, service

[xṭüy:ɛ] : fine

Pattern CVCCa:ʒi[5]

[xordɛ:ʒi] : scrap merchant

[qahwɛ:ʒi] : cafè keeper

[kɛftɛ:ʒi] : sandwich seller

Pattern CaCCaʒiy:a

[xordɛʒiy:ɛ] : scrap merchant (fem.)

[qahwɛʒiy:ɛ] : waitress

[kɛftɛʒiy:ɛ] : sandwich seller (fem.)

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[4] Many speakers replace /*maka:n*/ with /*mka:n*/.

[5] The suffix /ʒi/ which is derived from Turkish is very usual in the dialect of Sūsa and in the Jewish dialect of Tunis, see D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, p. 180.

2.4 ADJECTIVES

There are two types of adjectives: regular and elative. The regular adjectives can be subdivided into two groups, i.e. pure and mixed adjectives. The latter may function as attributes and substantives while the pure adjectives occur as attributes only.

2.4.1 Regular adjectives

2.4.1.1 Mixed adjectives

Participles

Verbal active and nominal passive participles function both as adjectives and substantives.

Substantives		Adjectives	
[ʔlḥa:yir mɛ:t]	: the disconcerted died	[ra:ʒil ḥa:yir]	: a disconcerted man
[ṣa:yim hrab]	: a fasting man ran away	[ṭoflɛ ṣa:ymɛ]	: a fasting young girl
[mitnɛf:ix ʒɛ:k]	: a snob came to you	[um: mitnɛf:xa]	: a snob mother
[ṣa:liḥ]	: proper name	[kɛlb ṣa:liḥ]	: a useful dog

Substantives

There are two types of substantives: pure and adjectival. Pure substantives do never occur as attributes.

[ktɛ:b]	: book
[zbi:b]	: raisin
[ðib:ɛ:nɛ]	: fly

Adjectival substantives function as substantives and adjectives.

[furṭa:ṣ]	: a baldpate	[mra furṭa:ṣa]	: a bald woman
[bɛk:ɛ:y]	: a weeper	[ra:ʒil bɛk:ɛ:y]	: an irritable man
[mibu:n]	: an homosexual	[ʕzu:zɛ mibu:nɛ]	: a sex hungry old lady

2.4.1.2 Pure adjectives

Pure adjectives cannot be substantivized.

Pattern CCV

The stem vowel is /i/ or /u/ but never /a/.

[xobz trü]	: new bread
[ra:ʒil qwi]	: a strong man
[lu:z ḥlu]	: sweet almond

Patterns Ca:CiC and Ca:CCa

[bhi:m zɛ:yid] : a useless donkey

[wlɛd gɛ:nid] : a shy boy

[zibdɛ mɛ:lḫa] : salt butter

[karhba ṯa:yra] : a very rapid car

Pattern CCV:C(a)

[ṯfol: ʃbɛ:b] : a nice child

[mra ʃbɛ:bɛ] : a nice woman

[nha:r ṣxo:n] : a very hot day

[ʒumʿa mʃu:mɛ] : a horrible week

[ktɛ:b qdi:m] : an old book

[θniy:ɛ ʿrü:ð̰a] : a large road

Patterns Ca:Ci and Ca:Cya

[kɛlb ɣa:li] : an expensive dog

[blɛ:d xa:lyɛ] : an empty country

Pattern maCCu:C(a)

[da:r mɛdhu:nɛ] : a painted house

[ḫü:ṯ manqo:b] : a cracked wall

Patterns aCCaC, CaCCa and CV:Ca

The pattern CV:Ca replaces CaCCa when the lexical items enclose the diphthong /ay/ or /aw/ e.g. /*bayð̰a*/ 'white' and /ʿ*awra*/ 'one-eyed' are realized as /*bi:ð̰a*/ and /ʿ*u:ra*/ respectively.

[wiʒ: ɛkḫal] : a black face

[ṯa:wlɛ bi:ð̰a] : a white table

[wiʒhu lazraq] : his blue face

[mra xað̰ra] : a sexy woman

2.4.2 Elative adjectives

2.4.2.1 The comparative degree

Participial adjectives

Active and passive participial adjectives form the comparative by a post-adjectival phrase in which one of the intensifiers (/*akθar*/ 'more', /*aqal:*/ 'less' and /*aḫsin*/ 'better') occurs followed or not followed by the preposition /*min*/ 'than' and a noun or a personal suffix.

[hɛ r:a:ʒil ʿa:mil ɛkθar] : this man is doing more

[tɛw:ɛ qa:ylɛ ɛkθar] : now it is warmer

[ir:a:ʒil mɛhbu:l ɛkθar] : the man is crazier

[id:inyɛ msɛḫ:bɛ aḫsin] : it is more cloudy

[da:rna ʿa:lyɛ aqal: min da:rhum] : our house is lower than theirs

[ḥo:tnɛ miʃwi ɛkθar min ḥo:thum] : our fish is more grilled than theirs
[limra xa:dmɛ ɛkθar minhum] : the woman is working harder than them

Other adjectives

With the exception of the participials the adjectives form the comparative with the comparison morpheme {a} prefixed to the comparative stem of the adjective with the pattern CCVC. The comparative adjectives do not agree with the noun in definiteness and are not inflected for number or gender. The stem vowel of the comparative adjectives is /a/ or /i/ but never /u/.

[liktɛ:b aɣlɛ] : the book is more expensive
[ḥṣa:ni akbɛr min bhi:mu] : my horse is older than his donkey
[martik ɛsmin] : you wife is fatter
[martu ɛzyin] : his wife is more beautiful
[iʃ:ra:b aḥlɛ mi-lmɛ] : wine is sweeter than water
[da:rü aqdim min ḥanu:tu] : my house is older than his shop

The comparative degree can also be formed by a phrase enclosing an intensifier followed by a verbal noun.

[lulɛd ɛkθar gdu:ʔüy:a] : the boy is stronger
[fi ṣ:ü:f ɛkθar ʔomɛ:n] : people bathe more often in summer
[il:u:n aqɑl: zro:qüy:ɛ] : the colour is less blue
[su:sɛ ɛkθar ɣlɛ min tu:nis] : it is more expensive in Sūsa than in Tunis

2.4.2.2 The superlative degree

The comparative adjective denotes the superlative degree when occurring in pre-nominal position followed or not by /*fi*/ phrase.

[ɛkbar ra:ʒil] : the oldest man
[aḥlɛ mɛ] : the sweetest water
[aḥsin ra:ʒil] : the best man
[hu:wɛ aḥsin lɛ:ʔüb] : he is the best player
[hi:yɛ ɛzyin mra fi lḥo:mɛ] : she is the most beautiful woman in the district
[ʔli aɣna wɛ:ḥüd fi lʔü:lɛ] : Ali is the richest is the family

The superlative adjectives are inflected for allocation as in:

[akbarhum] : the biggest of them
[aḥlɛ:hum] : the sweetest of them
[aṭwalnɛ] : the tallest of us

The superlative adjectives as the comparatives do not agree with the noun in definiteness and are not inflected for gender or number. However it can be inflected for definiteness in verbal topical sentences.

[laḥsin yirbiḥ myɛt ɛlf] : the best wins hundred thousands

[lɛfqɑr yɛ:xo bint ʔam:i] : the poorest marries my cousin

[lɛkθir kubr yudxol lis̰:b̰it̰a:r] : the oldest comes into the hospital

Some loan words with a superlative meaning are also used to signal the superlative degree.

[librü:ma yaqra dɛrsu] : the best one reads his lesson

2.5 GENDER

In the dialect of Sūsa as well as in Classical Arabic, there are two gender categories: masculine and feminine. The masculine nouns are unmarked whereas the feminine nouns are marked or unmarked.

2.5.1 Formation of feminine of substantives

2.5.1.1 Marked feminine nouns

The dialect of Sūsa has the feminine marker /a/ which may have a semantic reference to sex as in the following instances:

[t̪oflɛ] : a young girl
[mra] : woman
[bɛgra] : cow

The suffix /a/ may also occur without reference to sex as in:

[marqa] : sauce
[qüfla] : button
[ʃuʒra] : tree

Substantive stems which are inherently masculine are usually inflected for the feminine gender in the absolute state with the feminine marker /a/. Only substantives ending with /i/ get the suffix /y:a/.

[kɛlb]	: dog	[kɛlbɛ]	: bitch
[fa:r]	: mouse	[fa:ra]	: mouse (fem.)
[ʒa:r]	: neighbour	[ʒa:ra]	: neighbour ('s wife)
[ẖwɛ:nti]	: shop keeper, merchant	[ẖwɛ:ntiy:ɛ]	: shop keeper, merchant (fem.)
[tɛ:rzi]	: tailor	[tɛ:rziy:ɛ]	: tailor (fem.)

2.5.1.2 Unmarked feminine nouns

The proper gender in the unmarked feminine nouns is shown when used with a verb or an adjective. The following stems are feminine by usage:

Nouns denoting double parts of the body

[ʿü:n] : eye
[rʒil] : foot
[sɛ:q] : leg
[uðin] ~ [wðin] : ear
[yid:] : hand

Nouns denoting females with or without the old feminine suffix /t/

[um:] : mother
[bint] : daughter

[uxt] : sister

A few common words

[ʃɛms] : sun

[smɛ] : sky

[na:r] : fire

Nouns of towns and countries

[nɛ:bil] : Nabeul

[gɛ:bis] : Gabès

[m̰aṣr] : Egypt

[lubnɛ:n] : Lebanon

2.5.2 Formation of feminine of participles

All participles active and passive are inflected for the feminine with the suffix /a/. Apart from passive participles with the pattern maCCu:C all participles lose V_2 when the feminine suffix is added.

masc.		fem.
[kɛ:tib]	: writing	[kɛ:tbɛ]
[qɑ:rü]	: reading	[qɑ:ryɛ]
[xa:dim]	: working	[xa:dmɛ]
[mɛktu:b]	: written	[mɛktu:bɛ]
[maʔmu:l]	: done	[maʔmu:lɛ]
[msɛl:ɛh̰]	: armed	[msɛl:h̰a]
[mqɑt̰:aʔ]	: torn	[mqɑt̰:ʔa]

2.5.3 Formation of feminine of adjectives

Adjectives are always made feminine by adding the suffix /a/. Adjectives having two vowels in masculine undergo the same morphological change as participles.

masc.		fem.
[kbi:r]	: big	[kbi:ra]
[sxo:n]	: warm	[sxo:nɛ]
[ʃbɛ:b]	: nice	[ʃbɛ:bɛ]
[mɛ:lih̰]	: salt	[mɛ:lh̰a]
[mitnɛf:ix]	: snob	[mitnɛf:xa]

Adjectives having the pattern CCv get the feminine markers /w:a/ or /y:a/.

masc.		fem.
[h̰lu]	: sweet	[hluw:ɛ]
[qwi]	: strong	[qwiy:ɛ]

Adjectives of the pattern *afʿal* denoting colours and defects have most often the fem. sing. pattern *faʿla*.

masc.		fem.
[azraq]	: blue	[zarqa]
[ɛkhal]	: black	[kahlɛ]
[asfar]	: yellow	[safra]
[aʿmɛ]	: blind	[ʿamyɛ]
[aʿmɛʃ]	: blear-eyed	[ʿamʃɛ]

The realization of the older diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ as /u:/ and /i:/ respectively explains the pattern CV:Ca, e.g.

[aʿwar]	: one-eyed	[ʿo:ra]
[abyað]	: white	[bi:ða]

2.5.4 The feminine allomorph /t/

Feminine noun stems in which the feminine gender is signalled by the feminine morpheme {a} get the allomorph /t/ when followed by a suffix beginning with a vowel.

[bagərti]	: my cow
[gɛlbti:n]	: twenty litres
[martik]	: you wife
[tuf:ɛ:htu]	: his apple
[dʒɛ:ʒti:n]	: two hens

The morpheme {a} has the allomorph /it/ when followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant or when the feminine noun occurs as a head of a genitival nominal phrase.

[tuf:ɛhütnɛ]	: our apple
[ku:ritkum]	: your boll
[kɛlbithum]	: their bitch
[kɛlbit lulɛd]	: the boy's bitch
[ʿü:lit ʿli]	: Ali's family
[tuf:ɛ:hüt sa:lih]	: Salah's apple
[mart ʿli][6]	: Ali's wife

[6] The feminine noun */mra/* 'wife' gets the suffix /t/ when occurring as a head of a genitival nominal phrase.

2.6 NUMBER

Substantives have four numbers: singular, dual, collective and plural, whereas participles and adjectives have two only, i.e. singular and plural.

2.6.1 The singular

The singular nouns are unmarked. Regarding the feminine morpheme {a} as a morpheme of gender and number (fem. and sing.) would lead us to consider the /t/ allomorph of {a} as a marker of gender and number too which is not the case in the following examples.

[bagərti:n] : two cows [kɛlbti:n] : two bitches

2.6.2 The dual

The dual is formed by adding the dual morpheme {i:n} to the singular form. The dual form is less productive in the dialect of Sūsa than in Classical Arabic. It occurs, e.g. only in noun stems semantically limited to estimated domestic animals, such as cows, and to units of measurement.

[bɛgərti:n] : two cows
[niʔəʒti:n] : two ewes
[wi:bti:n] : forty litres
[gɛlbti:n] : twenty litres
[ɛlfi:n] : two thousands
[miti:n] : two hundreds
[ʔami:n] : two years

The dual form is very rare in most idiolects of the dialect of Sūsa, e.g. parts of the body which are paired are most often preceded by /ʒu:ʒ/ 'two' and most of the speakers of the younger generation use /ʒu:ʒ/ followed by a plural form instead of dual nouns.

[zu:z ʔüni:n] : two eyes
[zu:z idi:n] : two hands
[zu:z bɛgra:t] : two cows (the younger generation only)
[idɛy:ɛ iz:u:z] : my two hands

2.6.3 The collective

In the dialect of Sūsa as in most other Arabic dialects, there are two types of collective substantives.

2.6.3.1

Collectives denoting a collective of things or animals regarded as a unit and being able to form singular nouns with the suffix /a/.

[zitu:n]	: olives	[zitu:nɛ]	: an olive
[qmɛl]	: lice	[qɑmlɛ]	: a louse
[b̰s̰al]	: onions	[baṣ̰l̰a]	: an onion
[ward]	: roses	[wardɛ]	: a rose
[fu:l]	: broad beans	[fu:lɛ]	: a broad bean
[bgar]	: cows	[bɛgra]	: a cow
[nh̰al]	: bees	[naḫ̰la]	: a bee

2.6.3.2

Collectives denoting a mass or a volume and being unable to form singular nouns.

[fɛrü:nɛ]	: flour
[nɛ:s]	: people
[dux:a:n]	: smoke
[zi:t]	: oil
[ʿsɛl]	: honey

2.6.4 The plural

There are three types of plural nouns: sound plural, broken plural and suffixed broken plural nouns.

2.6.4.1 Sound plural

Sound plural nouns are formed with the suffixes /i:n/, /a:t/ and /a/.

Participles

Verbal participles get always the allomorph /i:n/ both in the masculine and the feminine.

sing.		pl.
[kɛ:tib]	: writing	[kɛ:tbi:n]
[mqɑ:bil]	: meeting	[mqɑ:bli:n]
[mɛsmu:m]	: poisoned	[mɛsmumi:n]
[mitkɛs:ir]	: being broken	[mitkɛs:rü:n]

Apart from passive participles with the pattern maCCu:C all participles drop V_2 when the plural suffix is added.

Substantives

Feminine substantives get the suffix /a:t/.

sing. patterns	sing.		pl.
CuC:a	[qow:ɛ]	: strength	[qow:ɛ:t]
CCaC:a	[θray:ɛ]	: pendant lamp	[θray:ɛ:t]
CCa	[ʿs̱a]	: peg	[ʿs̱ayɛ:t]
CCu:Ca	[ẖku:mɛ]	: government	[ẖkumɛ:t]
CaCCa:Ca	[ṯaḇ:a:xa]	: cook	[ṯaḇ:axa:t]

Adjectives

Feminine and masculine adjectives get the suffix /i:n/ when forming plural. Adjectives of the pattern CaCCa:C get the suffix /a/.

sing. patterns	sing.		pl.
Ca:Ci	[ʿa:li]	: high	[ʿali:n]
CCu:Ci	[ẖsu:di]	: jealous	[ẖsudi:n]
CaC:a:C	[kɛð:ɛ:b]	: liar	[kɛð:ɛ:bɛ]
CaC:a:C	[dɛʒ:ɛ:l]	: charlatan	[dɛʒ:ɛ:lɛ]

2.6.4.2 Broken plural

Participles

Nominal active participles form the plural with the pattern CuC:a:C.

[sɛ:rüq]	: thief	[sur:a:q]
[kɛ:tib]	: writer	[kut:ɛ:b]

Substantives

Pattern CCVC

Substantive stems with a weak second radical get the vowel /i/. The remaining stems get the same stem vowel as in the singular.

sing. patterns	sing.		pl.
CaCCa	[ʿalqɑ]	: snail	[ʿlaq]
CiCCa	[ẖüsbɛ]	: account	[ẖsib]
CuCCa	[ẖofra]	: hole	[ẖfur]
Ci:Ca	[ʃi:ṯa]	: brush	[ʃyiṯ]
CawCa	[dɛwlɛ]	: government	[dwil]

Pattern CCa:C

CCaC	[ʒbɛl]	: mountain	[ʒbɛ:l]
CaCC	[kɛlb]	: dog	[klɛ:b]
CiCC	[ʿürs]	: marriage	[ʿra:s]
CuCC	[ɣord]	: a rude man	[ɣra:d]
Ca:CiC	[ra:ʒil]	: man	[rʒɛ:l]
Ca:C	[da:r]	: house	[dya:r]
Ci:C	[ʿü:d]	: feast	[ʿyɛ:d]
Cu:C	[s̱o:q]	: market	[swɛ:q]
CaCCa	[qɑẖbɛ]	: whore	[qẖa:b]

Pattern CCu:C

sing. patterns	sing.		pl.
CaCC	[ʇarf]	: part	[ʇro:f]
CiCC	[kirʃ]	: stomach	[kro:ʃ]
CiC:	[ʒin:]	: demon	[ʒnu:n]
Ci:C	[bi:t]	: room	[byu:t]
CaCCa	[dɛrʒɛ]	: step	[dro:ʒ]

Pattern CCi:C

CiCCa	[miˤzɛ]	: goat	[mˤü:z]
CCi:Ciy:a	[zli:ziy:ɛ]	: a tile	[zli:z]

This plural form occurs in the two above-mentioned examples only.

Pattern CCa:yiC

CaC:a	[qaʂ:a]	: a cloth	[qʂa:yiʂ]
CCa:Ca	[xʂa:ra]	: loss	[xʂa:yir]
CCi:Ca	[xli:qa]	: face	[xla:yiq]
CCu:Ca	[nbu:lɛ]	: bladder	[nbɛ:yil]

Pattern CCa:CiC

CCa:C	[ʒnɛ:ẖ]	: wing	[ʒwɛ:niẖ]
Ca:CiC	[ʃɛ:rüˤ]	: street	[ʃwɛ:rüˤ]
CaCu:C	[ẖanu:t]	: shop	[ẖwɛ:nit]
CuCCuC	[funduq]	: primitive hotel	[fnɛ:diq]
CaCCCa	[qantra]	: bridge	[qna:tür]
CaCCu:C	[qaḃro:ʂ]	: crab	[qḃa:rüʂ]
CiCa:C	[ʃiṭa:n]	: devil	[ʃyɛ:tün]
mCaCCa	[mɣarfɛ]	: spoon	[mɣa:rüf]

This plural pattern is most frequent in the dialect of Sūsa.

Adjectives

Pattern CCa:C

sing. patterns	sing.		pl.
CCi:C	[ʇwi:l]	: tall, long	[ʇwɛ:l]
CCi:C	[qbi:ẖ]	: ugly	[qbɛ:ẖ]

Pattern CCuC:

CCi:C	[ʒdi:d]	: new	[ʒdud:]
CCi:C	[qdi:m]	: old	[qdum:]

2.6.4.3 Suffixed broken plural

Participles

Participles do not form suffixed broken plural.

Substantives

Pattern VCa:Ci

sing. patterns	sing.		pl.
aCC	[arg̊]	: plot	[ara:g̊ü]
iCC	[ism]	: name	[isɛ:mi]
iCCa	[ibra]	: nail	[ibɛ:rü]
Pattern CuCCa			
CCi:C	[t̊bi:b]	: physician	[t̊ob:ɛ]
CCi:C	[mrü:ḍ̊]	: sick man	[murḍ̊a]
Pattern CCu:Ca			
CiCC	[qürd]	: monkey	[qro:dɛ]
CCaC	[ðkar]	: male	[ðku:ra]
Pattern Cwa:Ca			
Cu:Ci	[ro:mi]	: occidental	[rwɛ:mɛ]
Pattern Cwa:CCa			
Cu:CCi	[tu:nsi]	: Tunisian	[twɛ:nsɛ]
Pattern CiCCa:n			
CCa:C	[blɛ:d]	: country	[bildɛ:n]
CCi:C	[us̊ü:f]~[ws̊ü:f]	: black (man)	[wis̊fɛ:n]
CCu	[ʿdu]	: enemy	[ʿüdwɛ:n]
Pattern CiCa:n			
Ca:C	[bɛ:b]	: door	[bibɛ:n]
Ca:C	[sɛ:s]	: foundation	[sisɛ:n]
Adjectives			
Pattern CuCya			
CCi	[ɣni]	: rich	[ɣonyɛ]
Pattern CCa:ya			
CiCya:n	[ʿüryɛ:n]	: naked	[ʿra:yɛ]
CiCya:n	[h̊üfyɛ:n]	: bare-foot	[h̊fɛ:yɛ]
Pattern Cwa:wCiy:a			
Caw:a:Ci	[zɛw:a:li]	: poor	[zwɛ:wliy:ɛ]
Pattern CCa:yCiy:a			
CCa:yCi	[ʿnɛ:ydi]	: obstinate	[ʿnɛ:ydiy:ɛ]

2.6.4.3 Other plural forms

The lexical item /*mra*/ has the plural form /*nsa*/.

The form *faʿ:ala:t* as in the instance /*ay:ama:t maʿduda:t*/ 'few counted days' days' is opposed[7] to the form *faʿ:a:l* in /*ay:a:m maʿdu:da*/ 'counted days'.

[7] The same form occurs in the Jewish dialects in Tunis and Alger, see D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, p. 203, and M. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger, p. 313.

2.7 DEFINITENESS

Nouns in the dialect of Sūsa are inflected for definiteness either overtly with the morpheme {el} or covertly by being a head of a nominal construct or a genitival phrase.

[ilmɛ] : the water
[ktɛ:b ir:a:ʒil] : the book of the man
[ktɛ:bu] : his book

Proper nouns and nouns or adjectives preceded by the vocative particle /ya/ are also covertly inflected for definiteness.

[ʕli] : Ali
[yɛ wlɛd] : you boy!

The dialect of Sūsa does not have the indefinite article[8] (*/wa:ḥid/* + definite noun) of most urban North African dialects.

The definite article {el} has the following allomorphs:

The allomorph /iC/ where C is identical with the first consonant of nouns and adjectives beginning with /t/, /d/, /ṭ/, /θ/, /ð/, /ḍ/, /s/, /ṣ/, /z/, /ʒ/, /r/, /n/ or /ʃ/, i.e. the consonant of the article is assimilated to the above-mentioned consonants.

[iṭ:ṭbi:b] : the physician
[is:ɛ:rüq] : the thief
[in:iʒmɛ] : the star
[iθ:u:ra] : the revolution
[ið:i:b] : the wolf
[iṣ:ü:f] : the summer
[iʒ:mɛl] : the camel
[iʒ:a:r] : the neighbour
[ir:a:s] : the head

The allomorph /l/ before nouns or adjectives beginning with a vowel.

[lɛrnib] : the rabbit
[lazraq] : the blue
[lulɛd] : the boy

The allomorph /Vl/ before nouns and adjectives beginning with a single consonant. The vowel is [i] or [ə] depending on the quality of C_1, i.e. the vowel is [ə] when C_1 is a back consonant and [i] elsewhere.

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8 This form occurs in Alger (Jewish), Saïda and Tlemcen, see M. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger, p. 345, W. MARÇAIS, Le dialecte arabe des Ūlâd Brāḥîm de Saïda, p. 148, and Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen, p. 118.

[ilmɛ] : the water
[ilbɛ:qü] : the rest
[ilwɛ:li] : the governor
[ilyu:m] : the day
[ɘlqü:mɛ] : the value
[ɘlɣɑ:lyɛ] : the dear (fem.)
[ɘlḫa:kim] : the judge
[ɘlxa:yif] : the scared

The allomorph /lV/ before nouns and adjectives beginning with two consonants. The vowel is /a/ or /i/ in accordance with the following rules:

The article gets the vowel [a] or [ɑ] before a noun or an adjective beginning with a pharyngal, i.e. /ʿ/ or /ḫ/.

[laḫmɛ:mɛ] : the pigeon
[laḫra:m] : evil
[lɑʿqɑl] : the brain
[laʿfɛ:rüt] : the malicious (pl.)

The article has an /i/ vowel before a noun or an adjective beginning with /m/, /b/, /f/, /g/, /k/, /q/ or /ɣ/.

[libhi:m] : the donkey
[limra] : the woman
[liflu:s] : the money
[ligrɛ:ʒim] : the throats
[liqlam] : the pencil
[likbi:r] : the old, the big
[liɣbi:nɛ] : the sadness

The article has an /a/ vowel before a noun or an adjective beginning with the laryngal /h/.

[lɛhwɛ] : the air
[lɛhbɛ:l] : the insanity
[lɛhro:b] : the escape

2.8 NUMERALS

2.8.1 Cardinals

2.8.1.1 The cardinal numbers from 1 to 10

[wɛ:ẖüd]	: one
[θni:n] ~ [zu:z]	: two
[θlɛ:θɛ]	: three
[arbʿa]	: four
[xamsɛ]	: five
[sit:ɛ]	: six
[sɛbʿa]	: seven
[θmɛnyɛ][9]	: eight
[tisʿa]	: nine
[ʿaʃra]	: ten

[wɛ:ẖüd] is the only cardinal which shows gender distinction, e.g. [waẖdɛ]. The form [zu:z] occurs in most North African dialects. In the dialect of Sūsa [θni:n] occurs always in absolute state whereas [zu:z] most often in construct state.

[rü:t θni:n]	: I saw two
[zu:z klɛ:b]	: two dogs

The dialect of Sūsa has the form /*arbʿa*/ which makes it opposed to many other North African dialects having the form /*rabʿa*/.[10]

2.8.1.2 The days of the week

The days of the week are as in Classical Arabic and all Arabic dialects, partially identical with the cardinal numbers.

[liθni:n]	: Monday
[iθ:lɛ:θɛ]	: Tuesday
[lirbʿa]	: Wednesday
[lixmi:s]	: Thursday
[iʒ:umʿa]	: Friday
[is:ibt]	: Saturday
[laẖad:]	: Sunday

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[9] The dialect of Sūsa has the form /θ*manya*/ with a short vowel and is opposed to the North African Beduin dialects which have a long vowel, see GRAND´HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 124.

[10] Cf. GRAND´HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 124, M. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger, p. 356, G. COLIN, Notes sur le parler arabe du nord de la règion de Taza, p. 78, W. MARÇAIS, Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen, p. 155.

2.8.1.3 The cardinal numbers from 11 to 19

[ḥdɛ:ʃ] : 11
[θna:ʃ] : 12
[tl̃at̃:a:ʃ] : 13
[arbˤat̃:a:ʃ] : 14
[xmasṭa:ʃ] : 15
[sit̃:a:ʃ] : 16
[sbaˤṭa:ʃ] : 17
[θmanẓa:ʃ] : 18
[tisˤat̃:a:ʃ] : 19

When compared with Classical Arabic the cardinal numbers in the dialect of Sūsa have a different vowel quantity.

2.8.1.4 The cardinal numbers from 20 upwards

[ˤüʃrü:n] : 20
[θlɛθi:n] : 30
[arbˤü:n] : 40
[xamsi:n] : 50
[sit:i:n] : 60
[sɛbˤü:n] : 70
[θmɛni:n] : 80
[tisˤü:n] : 90
[wɛ:ḥüd-wi-θlɛθi:n] : 31
[θlɛ:θɛ w-arbˤü:n] : 43
[tisˤa-w-sɛbˤü:n] : 79
[myɛ-w-sit:ɛ w-arbˤü:n] : 146
[ɛlf w-arbˤa] : 1.004
[ɛlf u-miti:n wi θlɛ:θɛ-w-ˤüʃrü:n] : 1.223
[zu:z mlɛ:yin wi-myɛ:t ɛlf] : 2.100.000
[θna:ʃ n ɛlf mɛlyu:n] : 12.000.000.000

The cardinals vary from one dialect to another, but almost the same system is found in all Western dialects. The conjunction {w} has an /u/ allomorph when occurring between a cardinal ending with a consonant and a word beginning with a consonant followed by a vowel.

[ɛlf u xamsi:n] : 1.050
[ɛlf u sɛbˤü:n] : 1.070

{w} gets an /wi/ allomorph when the second cardinal begins with two consonants.

[mɛlyu:n wi myɛ] : 1.000.100
[ɛlf wi myɛ] : 1.100

The conjunction {w} has also an /w/ allomorph when occurring between two vowels or a vowel and a consonant.

[xamsɛ w-arbʿü:n] : 45

[sit:ɛ-w sit:i:n] : 66

Cardinal numbers from 11 to 19 get the morphophonemic shape ------n[11] when occurring in a construct state. The morpheme {n} has two allomorphs:

The allomorph /n/ when the following noun begins with a vowel.

[tisʿaṯ̲:a:ʃn ɛlf] : 19.000

[xmasṯ̲a:ʃn ɛrnib] : fifteen rabbits

The allomorph /in/ when followed by a noun beginning with a consonant.

[siṯ̲:a:ʃin mɛlyu:n] : 16.000.000

[tisʿaṯ̲:aʃin kɛlb] : nineteen dogs

The noun following cardinal numbers from two to ten is always inflected for plural number.

[zu:z klɛ:b] : two dogs

[xamsɛ wlɛ:d] : five boys

2.8.2 Ordinals

masc.		fem.	pl.
[lu:l] ~ [lulɛ:ni]	: the first	[lu:lɛ] ~ [lulɛniy:ɛ]	[luli:n] ~ [lulɛni:n]
[iθ:ɛ:ni]	: the second	[iθ:ɛ:nyɛ]	[iθ:ɛni:n]
[iθ:ɛ:liθ]	: the third	[iθ:ɛ:lθɛ]	
[ir:a:biʿ]	: the forth	[ir:a:b̲ʿa]	
[ə lxa:mis]	: the fifth	[ə lxa:msɛ]	
[is:ɛ:tit]	: the sixth	[is:ɛ:t:ɛ]	
[is:ɛ:biʿ]	: the seventh	[is:ɛ:bʿa]	
[iθ:ɛ:min]	: the eighth	[iθ:ɛ:mnɛ]	
[it:ɛ:siʿ]	: the ninth	[it:ɛ:sʿa]	
[ə lʿa:ʃir]	: the tenth	[ə lʿa:ʃra]	
[ə lḫ̲a:diʃ]	: the eleventh	[ə lḫ̲a:dʃɛ]	
[iθ:a:niʃ]	: the twelfth	[iθ:a:nʃɛ]	

There are special forms for the ordinals from one to twelve only,[12] in the case of higher numbers the cardinals are used.

[ɛ:ni ṯ̲laṯ̲:a:ʃ] : I am the thirteenth

11 The same phenomenon occurs in the dialect of Tunis, see STUMME, Grammatik des tunisischen Arabisch, p. 125.

12 In the dialect of Cherchell there are special forms for the ordinals from one to ten only and in the dialect of Tlemcen from one to eleven. See GRAND'HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 127, and W. MARÇAIS, Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen, p. 161.

All the ordinals are adjectives and agree in gender. The form [lu:l] occurs most usually as an attribute or a predicate whereas [lulɛ:ni] as a substantive.

[lulɛd: lu:l xðɛ liktɛ:b] : the first boy took the book
[huw:ɛ lu:l] : he is first
[lulɛ:ni tiɣnɛ] : the first one became rich

The first and second ordinals agree with the preceding noun in gender and number.

[limra l:u:lɛ kitbit] : the first woman wrote
[ir:ʒɛ:l l:ulɛni:n wiʂlu] : the first men arrived
[libnɛ:t iθ:ɛni:n] : the second girls
[limra iθ:ɛ:nyɛ] : the second woman

All ordinals from one to twelve are always definite.[13] V_2 which is always /i/ disappears when the ordinals from two (upwards) are inflected for definiteness.

2.8.3 Fractions

[noʂ:] ~ [nofs] : a half
[θluθ:] : a third (part)
[rboʳ:] : a quarter
[xmus:] : a fifth (part)
[zdus:] : a sixth (part)
[sbuʳ:] : a seventh (part)
[θmun:] : an eighth (part)
[tsuʳ:] : a ninth (part)
[ʳʃur:] : a tenth (part)

There are special forms for fractions from two to ten only, elsewhere percentage is used.

[ḥdɛ:ʃ fi lmyɛ] : eleven per cent
[tlaṭ:a:ʃ fi lmyɛ] : thirteen per cent

All fractions in the dialect of Sūsa (except /noʂ:/) have a regular pattern, i.e. CCuC:.

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[13] In other North African dialects the ordinals occur also in indefinite form, see e.g. GRAND'HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 127, W. MARÇAIS, Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen, p. 161, and D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, p. 234.

2.8.4 Basic measures

[kɛnu:n] : three[14]
[ḫa:ra] : four
[ʔüt:i:dik] : five[15]
[ṯoz:i:nɛ] : twelve
[ṣa:ntiʃ] : one centimeter
[mi:tro] : one meter
[ʔʃurüy:ɛ] : one decilitre
[xmu:siy:ɛ] : two decilitres
[rbuʔü:tra] : a quarter of a litre (fluid)
[li:tra] : one litre
[di:gɛ] : ten litres (fluid)
[robʔüy:ɛ] : a quarter of a liter (mass)
[gɛlbɛ] : ten litres (mass)
[wi:bɛ] : twenty litres (mass)
[wqüy:ɛ] ~ [uqüy:ɛ] : three grams
[rṯal:] : one pound
[ki:lu] : one kilogram

Many of the measures are loan words from French and Italian.

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[14] This form occurs among merchants only.

[15] The lexical item /*ʔit:i:dik*/ is derived from the items [ʔüd: i:dik] 'count (the fingers of) your hand'.

2.9 PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

2.9.1 Personal pronouns

2.9.1.1 Independent personal pronouns

Independent pronouns occur as free forms and are usually referred to as free subject personal pronouns.

Singular

3rd p. masc.	[hu:wɛ]
3rd p. fem.	[hi:yɛ]
2nd p. c.	[inti]
1st p. c.	[ɛ:ni] [16]

Plural

3rd p. c.	[humɛ] ~ [hu:mɛ] [17]
2nd p. c.	[ntu:mɛ]
1st p. c.	[ahnɛ]

Only the 3rd p. sing. masc. morpheme is inflected for gender, i.e. */hi:ya/* 'she' and */hu:wa/* 'he'. The dual is lacking in the pronominal paradigms.

2.9.1.2 Bound personal pronouns

The suffixed personal pronouns are referred to as object personal suffixes. There are two types of object personal suffixes: direct objects suffixed to verbs only and indirect objects suffixed to prepositions and nouns. The indirect object suffixes functioning as possessive pronouns are treated separately.

Direct object suffixes

Singular

3rd p. masc.	[-u] [-h]
3rd p. fem.	[-hɛ]
2nd p. c.	[-k] [-ik]
1st p. c.	[-ni]

Plural

3rd p. c.	[-hum]
2nd p. c.	[-kum]
1st p. c.	[-nɛ]

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16 The form */ʔani/* occurs in the dialect of Ḥôrân, see J. CANTINEAU, Les parlers arabes du Ḥôrân, p. 193.

17 Many other North African dialects have the forms */ntuma:n/* and */huma:n/*, see, e.g. D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, p. 210, W. MARÇAIS, Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen, p. 120, and GRAND'HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p.128.

The 2nd p. sing. suffix has two allomorphs: /k/ after a vowel and /ik/ after a consonant.

[ɣnɛ:k] : he made you rich
[ra:k] : he saw you
[ʿarfik] : he knew you
[kɛl:mik] : he talked to you

The suffix of the 3rd p. sing. masc. has also two allomorphs: /u/ after a consonant and /h/ after a vowel.

[ʿa:wnu] : he helped him
[ɧab:u] : he liked him
[ra:h] : he saw him
[ʒɛ:h] : he came to him

The following are typical examples of suffixed verbs:

[sarqo] : he robbed him
[ra:h] : he saw him
[sraqhɛ] : he robbed her
[ra:hɛ] : he saw her
[sarqük] : he robbed you
[ra:k] : he saw you
[sraqni] : he robbed me
[ra:ni] : he saw me
[sraqhum] : he robbed them
[ra:hum] : he saw them
[sraq:om] : he robbed you (pl.)
[ra:kum] : he saw you (pl.)
[sraqnɛ] : he robbed us
[ra:nɛ] : he saw us

Regular strong verbs in perfect 3rd p. sing. masc. get the pattern CaCC whenever followed by the suffixes /ik/ or /u/.

[ǧarbu] : he hit him
[ǧarbik] : he hit you
[ʿarfik] : he knew you

Indirect object suffixes

Only transitive verbs can immediately be followed by a pronominal suffix since intransitive verbs are always affixed with the preposition {li} followed by the pronominal suffixes. Final-weak verbs get the stem vowel lengthened when followed by a pronominal suffix.

[ra:h] : he saw him
[ʒɛ:kum] : he came to you

The vowel of the perfective suffix /nɛ/ and the 3rd p. masc. suffix /u/ are also lengthened when followed by the preposition {li} with the pronominal suffix.

[qrü:nɛ:lu] : we read for him
[kitbu:lu] : they wrote to him
[nikətbu:lu] : we write to him

Prepositions and substantives are followed by the following pronominal suffixes:

Singular

3rd p. masc.	(C+)-u, (V+)-h
3rd p. fem.	hɛ
2nd p. c.	(C+)-ik, (V+)-k
1st p. c.	(C+)-i, (V+)-ya

Plural

3rd p. c.	-hum
2nd p. c.	-kum
1st p. c.	-nɛ

The pronoun of the 1st p. sing. has as the morphemes {k} and {u} two phonemic shapes: /i/ when preceded by a consonant and /ya/ after a vowel.

[da:rü] : my house
[bi:ya] : with me

Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are indirect object personal pronouns being suffixed to substantives. However the pronominal morphemes are identical with the above-mentioned personal pronouns. Comparing the two sets, we notice syntactical and semantical differences only.

[mɛ:yɛ] : my water	[ktɛ:bi] : my book	[xzɛ:nti] : my cupboard
[mɛ:k]	[ktɛ:bik]	[xzɛ:ntik]
[mɛ:h]	[ktɛ:bu]	[xzɛ:ntu]
[mɛ:hɛ]	[ktɛ:bhɛ]	[xzɛ:nithɛ]
[mɛ:nɛ]	[ktɛ:bnɛ]	[xzɛ:nitnɛ]
[mɛ:kum]	[ktɛ:bkum]	[xzɛ:nitkum]
[mɛ:hum]	[ktɛ:bhum]	[xzɛ:nithum]

Marked feminine nouns get the phonemic shape ----t[18] where the noun changes pattern in accordance with the following rules:

Feminine nouns of the pattern Ca:CCa get the pattern Ca:CiCt when followed by the suffixes /i/, /ik/ or /u/ and the pattern Ca:CCit when followed by

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[18] The same phenomenon occurs in the dialect of Tunis (Jewish), see D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, p. 217.

consonantal suffixes.

[ta͡:wilti] : my table
[ta͡:wiltik] : your table
[ta͡:wiltu] : his table
|ta͡:wlithɛ| : her table
[qɑ:blitnɛ] : our midwife
[qɑ:blitkum] : your (pl.) midwife
[qɑ:blithum] : their midwife

Nouns of the pattern maCəCCa get the structure maCəCCit when followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant and the structure maCCaCt when the following suffix begins with a vowel:

[ma͡təbʔa] : printing-house
[ma͡təbʔütnɛ] : our printing-house
[ma͡təbʔütkum] : your (pl.) printing-house
[ma͡təbʔüthum] : their printing-house
[ma͡tba͡ʔtu] : his printing-house
[ma͡tba͡ʔti] : my printing-house
[ma͡tba͡ʔtik] : your printing-house

The vowel /i/ in nouns of the pattern Ca:CiC is elided when followed by the suffixes /i/, /ik/ or /u/.

[sa͡:ḫüb] : friend
[sa͡:ḫbi] : my friend
[sa͡:ḫbik] : your friend
[sa͡:ḫbu] : his friend

Only final /a/ or /u/ noun stems may be followed by the suffix /ya/, i.e. noun stems ending with /i/ form a periphrastic construct.

[mɛ:yɛ] : my water
[xu:yɛ] : my brother
[in:bi mtɛ:ʔü] : my prophet

2.9.2 Relative pronouns

The dialect of Sūsa has two relative pronouns: {ɛl:i} and {mɛ} . It can however be noticed that {ɛl:i} is most usual since {mɛ} occurs in certain idiolects of the older generation only.

2.9.2.1 The relative pronoun {ɛl:i}[19]

{ɛl:i} has /l:i/ as an allomorph when occurring in close transition preceded by a word ending in a vowel.

[limra l:i bɛ:ˤüt id:a:r mɛ:tit] : the woman who sold the house died

[əlxu l:i ʒɛ raw:ah̰] : the brother who came went home

[wildi l:i ʒɛ:k] : my son who came to you

{ɛl:i} has an /ɛl:/ allomorph when occurring in close transition followed by a word beginning with a vowel.

[lɛrnɛb ɛl: ɛy:ɛ:mhɛ maˤdu:dɛ] : the rabbit the days of which are counted

[lulɛd: ɛl: ismu ˤli] : the boy whose name is Ali

[ir:a:ʒil ɛl: um:u mɛ:tit] : the man whose mother died

{ɛl:i} has an allomorph /l:/ when occurring in close transition between two vowels.

[rü:t limra l: isəmhɛ fa:ṯm̰a] : I saw the woman who is called Fatma

[rü:t əlxo l: um:u hnɛ] : I saw the brother whose mother is here

2.9.2.2 The relative pronoun {mɛ}

Only men in the older generation use {mɛ}.

men of the older generation

[nsi:t mɛ ˤmɛl:i] : I forgot what he did to me

[h̰ki:tlik mɛ qal:i] : I told you what he said to me

other speakers

[nsi:t ɛl:i ˤmɛl:i]

[h̰ki:tlik ɛl:i qal:i]

2.9.3 Demonstrative adjectives and pronouns

Demonstrative adjectives can be followed by a noun inflected for definiteness whereas demonstrative pronouns cannot.

2.9.3.1 Adjectives

In the dialect of Sūsa there are two types of demonstrative adjectives: demonstratives indicating near objects (referred to as near demonstratives) and demonstratives indicating far objects (referred to as far demonstratives).

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19 The dialect of Sūsa has as many other North African dialects the morpheme {ɛl:i}, cf. e.g. W. MARÇAIS, Le dialecte arabe parlé á Tlemcen, pp. 175-176, M. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger, pp. 349-350, STUMME, Grammatik des tunisischen Arabisch, p. 121, and D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, p. 218.

Near demonstratives

There is only one adjective which gets the morphophonemic shape hɛl--- when followed by a noun beginning with the sequence lV , and the morphophonemic shape hɛ-- when followed by a noun with the initial sequence iCC.

[hɛ-l:imra ɣniy:ɛ] : this woman is rich

[hɛ-l:ɛhwɛ bɛ:hi] : this air is good

[hɛ-l:ulɛd: yaˤrafni] : this boy knows me

[hɛ-n:sɛ qɑl:qo:ni] : these women disturbed me

[hɛ-s:i:d kbi:r] : this lion is big

[hɛ-lḫanu:t wɛ:siˤ] : this shop is large

Far demonstratives

There is only one demonstrative adjective indicating far objects, i.e. {hɛki} . This morpheme does not undergo any phonological or morphological changes.

[hɛki-s:fi:h] : that liar

[hɛki-l:imra] : that woman

[hɛki-n:sɛ kiðbu] : those women lied

[hɛki-lbɛ:b maḫlu:l] : that door is open

Both near and far demonstratives can occur in compound form usually used when presenting:[20]

[hɛhu:wɛ ˤli] : here is Ali

[hɛhi:yɛ fa:ṯma] : here is Fatma

[hɛhu:mɛ] : here they are

[hɛku:wɛ fɛtḫü] : there is Fathi

[hɛki:yɛ um:u] : there is his mother

[hɛku:mɛ] : there they are

2.9.3.2 Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns show inflection for gender, number and distance.

Near demonstratives

sing. masc.	[hɛ:ðɛ]
sing. fem.	[hɛ:ði]
sing. c.	[hɛðu:mɛ][21]

Illustrative examples

[hɛ:ðɛ wlɛd bɛ:hi] : this is a good boy

[hɛ:ði mra mɛhbu:lɛ] : this is a crazy woman

[hɛðu:ma ṣˤa:b] : these are difficult

[20] The same phenomenon occurs in the dialect of Tlemcen, see W. MARÇAIS, Le dialecte arabe parlé á Tlemcen, p. 124.

[21] The dialect of Sūsa does not have the form /haðu:la/ which occurs in the dialect of Tunis, see STUMME, Grammatik des tunisischen Arabisch, p. 118.

Far demonstratives

There are two types of pronouns depending on the distance: pronouns indicating short distance and others denoting long distance.

Pronouns denoting short distance

sing masc.	[hɛ:kɛ]
sing. fem.	[hɛ:ki]
pl. c.	[hɛ:kum] ~ [hɛku:mɛ]

Illustrative examples

[hɛ:kɛ wildi]	: that (one) is my son
[hɛ:ki um:u]	: that (one) is his mother
[hɛku:mɛ ʒɛ:w ilyu:mɛ]	: those came today

The plural form has two alternating allomorphs: */hɛ:kum/* and */hɛku:mɛ/*.

Pronouns denoting long distance

sing. masc.	[hɛðɛ:kɛ]
sing. fem.	[hɛði:kɛ]
pl. c.	[hɛðu:kum] ~ [hɛðu:kɛ]

Illustrative examples

[hɛðɛ:kɛ bu:hum]	: that (one) is their father
[hɛði:kɛ um:i]	: that (one) is my mother
[hɛðu:kɛ wra:qü]	: those are my papers

2.9.4 Interrogative pronouns and adjectives

2.9.4.1 Pronouns

There are two interrogative pronouns in the dialect of Sūsa, i.e. {ʃku:n} 'who' and {ɛ:nɛ} 'which'

The morpheme {ʃku:n} can be followed by personal suffixes, free subject personal pronouns or verbs.

[ʃku:nhum]	: who are they?
[ʃku:n raw:aḇ]	: who went home?
[ʃku:n ɛ:ni]	: who am I?

The morpheme {ɛ:nɛ}[22] has two allomorphs: */ɛ:nɛ/* when followed by a noun and */ɛnɛ:/* when preceding a personal suffix.

[ɛ:nɛ bagra]	: which cow?
[ɛ:nɛ mra]	: which woman?
[ɛnɛ:hu]	: which one (masc.)?
[ɛnɛ:hi]	: which one (fem.)?

[22] The Jewish dialect in Tunis has the form */ä:ma/* instead of */ɛ:nɛ/*, see D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, p. 225.

{ɛ:nɛ} can get the following personal suffixes only:

3rd p. masc. sing. : [-hu]
3rd p. fem. sing. : [-hi]
3rd p. c. pl. : [-hum]

2.9.4.2 Adjectives

The morpheme {ʃnuw:ɛ} 'what'

{ʃnuw:ɛ} has /ʃnuw:ɛ/ as an allomorph when occurring as a free allomorph which can be followed by a noun being a head in a nominal or a state construct.

[ʃnuw:ɛ marḏo] : what is his disease?
[ʃnuw:ɛ xüdmit wildik]: what is the job of your son?

{ʃnuw:ɛ} has /ʃV/ as an allomorph when occurring as a prefix. The vowel is [ɛ] when the first consonant before the prefix is a laryngal or a pharyngal and [ə] elsewhere. The allomorph /ʃV/ can only be prefixed to a word beginning with the sequence CC-.

[ʃəktib] : what did he write?
[ʃəqra] : what did he read?
[ʃɛḫkɛ] : what did he tell?
[ʃɛʿmɛl] : what did he do?

{ʃnuw:ɛ} has an /əʃ/ allomorph when prefixed to a word beginning with the sequence CV- or when suffixed to a word ending in a consonant.

[əʃqɑ:l] : what did he say?
[əʃbɛ:ʿ] : what did he sell?
[əʃbi:h] : what is the matter with him?
[ktibəʃ] : did he write?

{ʃnuw:ɛ} has an /ʃ/ allomorph when suffixed to verbs or prepositions ending in a vowel.

[qra:ʃ] : did he write?
[bkɛ:ʃ] : did he weep?
[tiksɛ:ʃ] : did he get enough clothes?
[ʿlɛ:ʃ] : why?
[bɛ:ʃ] : with what?
[mnɛ:ʃ] : of what?

2.9.5 Reciprocal pronouns

The dialect of Sūsa has the reciprocal pronoun [baʿḏ] followed by plural pronominal suffixes.

[ḏarbu baʿḏhum] : they hit each other

[ra:w bʿaǧ̲kum] : see each other (imp. pl.)
[busnɛ bʿaǧ̲nɛ] : we kissed each other
The morpheme {baʿǧ̲} has two allomorphs: the allomorph /bʿaǧ̲/ mostly used by speakers of the younger generation and /baʿǧ̲/ which principally occurs in the older generation's idiolects.
The morpheme {baʿǧ̲} can be preceded by the following prepositions: [li] 'for', [min] 'from', [ʿlɛ] 'on', [mʿa] 'with', [fu:q] 'over' and [taḥt] 'under'.
[mʃɛ:w libʿaǧ̲hum] : they came to each other
[xǧɛ:w mim bʿaǧ̲hum] : they took from each other
[tirmɛ:w ʿlɛ bʿaǧ̲hum] : they fell upon each other
[mʃɛ:w mʿa bʿaǧ̲hum] : they went with each other
[rɑqdu fu:q bʿaǧ̲hum] : they slept over each other
[txab:ɛ:w taḥt bʿaǧ̲hum] : they hid themselves under each other

2.9.6 Reflexive pronouns

The dialect of Sūsa has two reflexive pronouns: {ro:ḫ} and {nifs}. The latter form occurs most often among the speakers of the older generation.[23] The reflexive pronouns are always followed by the pronominal suffixes.
[ǧrab ro:ḫo] : he hit himself
[ixdim ʿlɛ nifsik] : work (imp.)
When followed by personal suffixes the phoneme /h/ of the pronouns [hɛ] and [hum] assimilates to /ḫ/.
[ro:ḫ̃ü] : myself
[ro:ḫ̃ük] : yourself
[ro:ḫ̃o] : himself
[ro:ḫ̃:a] : herself
[ro:ḫ̃nɛ] : ourselves
[ro:ḫ̃kum] : yourselves
[ro:ḫ̃:om] : themselves
{nifs} gets the following morphophonological shapes when followed by the personal suffixes:
[nifsi] : myself
[nifsik] etc.
[nifsu]
[nifəshɛ]
[nifəsnɛ]
[nifəskum]
[nifəshum]

[23] In the Jewish dialect in Tunis the pronoun /*nifs*/ is more usual than the form /*ru:ḫ*/, see D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, p. 218.

2.10 PREPOSITIONS

There are two types of prepositions: single and compound prepositions.

2.10.1 Single prepositions

2.10.1.1 {fi} 'in'

The morpheme {fi} has the following allomorphs:

Allomorph /*fi*/ before indefinite nouns beginning with a consonant or a vowel.

[fi-blɛ:ḍi] : in my country

[fi-umu:ri] : in my affairs

Allomorph /*fil*/ before definite nouns beginning with the sequence lV.

[fil-laˤbɛ:nɛ] : in the blanket

[fil-lɛrnɛb] : in the rabbit

Allomorph /*f*/ when the following word is definite and begins with a vowel.

[f-əlˤü:lɛ] : in the family

[f-ilmɛ] : in the water

[f-iṣ̃:ü:f] : in the summer

When followed by the pronominal suffixes the vowel of the preposition is realized as long.

[fi:yɛ]	[fi:k]
[fi:h]	[fi:hɛ]
[fi:nɛ]	[fi:kum]
[fi:hum]	

2.10.1.2 {bi} 'with'[24]

{bi} has the following allomorphs:

Allomorph /*bi*/ when the following noun begins with two consonants.

[bi-flu:sik] : with your money

[bi-qlɛm] : with a pencil

Allomorph /*bil*/ when followed by definite nouns beginning with the sequence lV.

[bil-laˤbɛ:nɛ] : with the blanket

[bil-lɛhwɛ] : with the air

Allomorph /*b*/ elsewhere.

[bxaṭ̃:o] : with his (hand) writing

[24] For more details on the meanings of /*bi*/ see D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, pp. 245-247.

[biʃ:ra:b] : with the wine

[bəlʔa:r] : with the revilement

When the vowel disappears the preposition and the following word are brought into close transition. {bi} undergoes the same morphological changes as {fi} when followed by the personal suffixes.

2.10.1.3 {li} 'for'

The preposition {li} has the following allomorphs:

Allomorph /li/ when followed by nouns beginning by the sequence CC-:

[li-bnɛ:tu] : for his daughters

[li-klɛ:bhɛ] : for her dogs

Allomorph /lil/ when the following noun is definite and has the initial sequence CC-.

[lil-laḫwɛ:nit] : for the shops

[lil-laḫku:mɛ] : for the government

Allomorph /il/ when the following noun begins with the sequence CV:-.

[il-su:sɛ] : for Sūsa

[il-qa:sim] : for Kasem

Allomorph /l/ when the following noun begins with a vowel.

[ləlʔü:lɛ] : for the family

[lin:sɛ] : for the women

[lilkɛlb] : for the dog

The preposition gets different morphophonemic shapes when followed by the personal suffixes.

	Free forms	Bound forms	
1st sing. c.	[li:li] ~ [li:ya]	[li]	:[ktibətli] : you wrote to me
2nd sing. c.	[li:lik] ~ [li:k]	[lik]	:[ktibətlik]
3rd sing masc.	[li:lu] ~ [li:h]	[lu]	:[ktibətlu]
3rd sing. fem.	[li:lhɛ] ~ [li:hɛ]	[ilhɛ]	:[ktibtilhɛ]
1st pl. c.	[li:lnɛ] ~ [li:nɛ]	[ilnɛ]	:[ktibtilnɛ]
2nd pl. c.	[li:lkum] ~ [li:kum]	[ilkum]	:[ktibtilkum]
3rd pl. c.	[li:lhum] ~ [li:hum]	[ilhum]	:[ktibtilhum]

2.10.1.4 {min} 'from'

The preposition {min} has the following allomorphs:

Allomorph /min/ before indefinite nouns beginning with a consonant.

[min fra:nsɛ] : from France

[min tu:nis] : from Tunis

Allomorph /*mil*/ when the following noun is definite and begins with the definite allomorph /lV/.

[mil-lɛrnɛb] : from the rabbit

[mil-laʔbɛ:nɛ] : from the blanket

Allomorph /*mn*/ before indefinite nouns beginning with a vowel.

[mnum:u] : from his mother

[mnɛhlu] : from his family

[mnismu] : from his name

Allomorph /*m*/ before definite nouns beginning with a vowel.

[min:sɛ] : from the women

[məlʔü:lɛ] : from the family

Allomorph /*min:*/ when followed by a personal suffix beginning with a vowel.

[min:i] [min:ik]

[min:u] [minhɛ]

[min:ɛ] [minkum]

[minhum]

2.10.1.5 {ʔand} 'at'

Apart from the assimilation of /d/ to /n/ in the contiguity of the suffix /na/ the morpheme {ʔand} does not undergo any morphophonemic assimilations.

[ʔandi] [ʔandik]

[ʔandu] [ʔandhɛ]

[ʔan:ɛ] [ʔandkum]

[ʔandhum]

2.10.1.6 {mʔa} 'with'

The morpheme {mʔa} gets an allomorph /*mʔa:*/ when followed by the personal suffixes.

[mʔa:yɛ] [mʔa:k]

[mʔa:h] [mʔa:hɛ]

[mʔa:nɛ] [mʔa:kum]

[mʔa:hum]

2.10.1.7 {ʔlɛ} 'on'

The morpheme {ʔlɛ} has an allomorph /*ʔli:*/ when followed by the personal suffixes.

[ʔli:yɛ] [ʔli:k]

[ʔli:h] [ʔli:hɛ]

[ʔli:nɛ] [ʔli:kum]

[ʔli:hum]

2.10.1.8 {ʔa} 'about'[25]

The morpheme {ʔa} can only be followed by a definite noun. The vowel of the definite article is dropped when preceded by the morpheme {ʔa}. The preposition {ʔa} has an allomorph /ʔal/ before definite nouns with the definite article lV-.

[ʔal-laḫku:mɛ] : about the government

[ʔal-liktɛ:b] : about the book

2.10.1.9 {bi:n} 'between'

The preposition {bi:n} does not undergo any morphological changes.

[bi:ni] [bi:nik]

[bi:nu] [bi:nhɛ]

[bi:n:ɛ] [bi:nkum]

[bi:nhum]

The morpheme {bi:n} gets the form [binɛ:t][26] when inflected for plural.

[binɛ:tnɛ] [binɛ:tkum]

[binɛ:thum]

2.10.1.10 {qbɛl} 'before'

{qbɛl} does not undergo any morphophonological changes when occurring as a free form.

[ri:tik qbɛl muḫam:id] : I saw you before Mohammed

[mʃɛ qbɛl əlḫarb] : he went before the war

The morpheme {qbɛl} has an allomorph /qabl/ when followed by a personal suffix beginning with a vowel.

[qablil] [qablik]

[qablu] [qbɛlhɛ]

[qbɛlnɛ] [qbɛlkum]

[qbɛlhum]

2.10.1.11 {baʔd} 'after'

The morpheme {baʔd} gets an allomorph /baʔəd/ when followed by a personal suffix beginning with a consonant and an allomorph /baʔd/ elsewhere:

[baʔdi] [baʔdik]

[baʔdu] [baʔədhɛ]

[baʔədnɛ] [baʔədkum]

[baʔədhum]

---

25 {ʔa} corresponds to the Classical Arabic /ʔan/ 'about'.

26 The same form occurs in many Eastern Arabic dialects and is according to Barthelemy a survival from the Syriac form /bayna:θ/, see BARTHÉLEMY, Dic-

2.10.1.12 {wra} ~{ura} 'behind'

/w/ alternates with /u/. The morpheme {wra} gets an allomorph */wra:/* when followed by the personal suffixes.

[ura:yɛ] ~ [wra:yɛ] [wra:k] ~ [ura:k]

[ura:h] ~ [wra:h] [wra:hɛ] ~ [ura:h ɛ]

[ura:nɛ] ~ [wra:nɛ] [wra:kum]~[ura:kum]

[ura:hum] [wra:hum]

2.10.1.13 {fu:q} 'over'

The /k/ of the personal suffix [kum] assimilates to /q/.

[fu:qü] [fu:qük]

[fu:qo] [fu:qhɛ]

[fu:qnɛ] [fu:q:om]

[fu:qhum]

2.10.1.14 {taḫt} 'under'

The morpheme {taḫt} gets an allomorph */taḫət/* when followed by a personal suffix beginning with a consonant and */taḫt/* elsewhere.

[taḫti] [taḫtik]

[taḫtu] [taḫəthɛ]

[taḫətnɛ] [taḫətkum]

[taḫəthum]

2.10.1.15 {woṣṭ} 'in the middle of'

{woṣṭ} has a */woṣəṭ/* allomorph when followed by a personal suffix beginning with a consonant and */woṣṭ/* elsewhere.

[woṣṭü] [woṣṭük]

[woṣto] [woṣəthɛ]

[woṣətnɛ] [woṣətkum]

[woṣəthum]

2.10.1.16 {ki:f} 'like'[27]

The morpheme has the following allomorphs:

tionnaire Arabe-Francais, Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem, I, p. 77.

[27] In the dialect of Sūsa as in the Jewish dialects in Tunis and Alger the form [ki:f] is a survival from the older forms */ki/* and */kayfa/*. See D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, p. 251, and M. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger, p. 366.

Allomorph /ki:ʃ/ when followed by the pronominal suffixes.

[ki:fi] [ki:fik]

[ki:fu] [ki:fhɛ]

[ki:fnɛ] [ki:fkum]

[ki:fhum]

Allomorph /ki/ when followed by an indefinite noun beginning with a consonant or a vowel.

[ki-muḫam:id] : like Mohammed

[ki-klɛ:bu] : like his dogs

[ki-um:u] : like his mother

[ki-ismi] : like my name

Allomorph /kil/ before definite nouns having the definite allomorph /lV/

[kil-liqlɛm] : like the pencil

[kil-liʔbɛ] : like the play

Allomorph /k/ when followed by a definite noun beginning with a vowel.

[kid:a:r] : like the house

[kilmɛ] : like the water

[kin:sɛ] : like the women

2.10.1.17 {qɑd:} 'as big as', 'as old as'

{qɑd:} does not undergo any morphophonological changes.

[qɑd:i] [qɑd:ik]

[qɑd:u] [qɑd:hɛ]

[qɑd:nɛ] [qɑd:kum]

[qɑd:hum]

2.10.1.18 {blɛ:ʃ} 'without'

The morpheme {blɛ:ʃ} does not undergo any morphophonological changes and can only be followed by indefinite nouns.

[blɛ:ʃ ḫwɛ:yiʒ] : without clothes

[blɛ:ʃ ɛrɛ:nib] : without rabbits

2.10.1.19 {ḫat:ɛ} 'even'

The morpheme {ḫat:ɛ} does not undergo any morphophonological changes and can only be followed by nouns or free personal pronouns.

[ḫat:ɛ laḫʒɛr] : even the stones

[ḫat:ɛ hi:yɛ] : even she

2.10.1.20 {ʒi:hit} 'round'

The morpheme {ʒi:hit} can only be followed by a noun.

[ʒi:hit su:sɛ] : round Sūsa

2.10.1.21 {qod:ɛ:m} 'in front of'

The morpheme {qod:ɛ:m} does not change morphophonologically.

[qod:ɛ:mi] [qod:ɛ:mik]

[qod:ɛ:mu] [god:ɛ:mhɛ]

[qod:ɛ:mnɛ] [qod:ɛ:mkum]

[qod:ɛ:mhum]

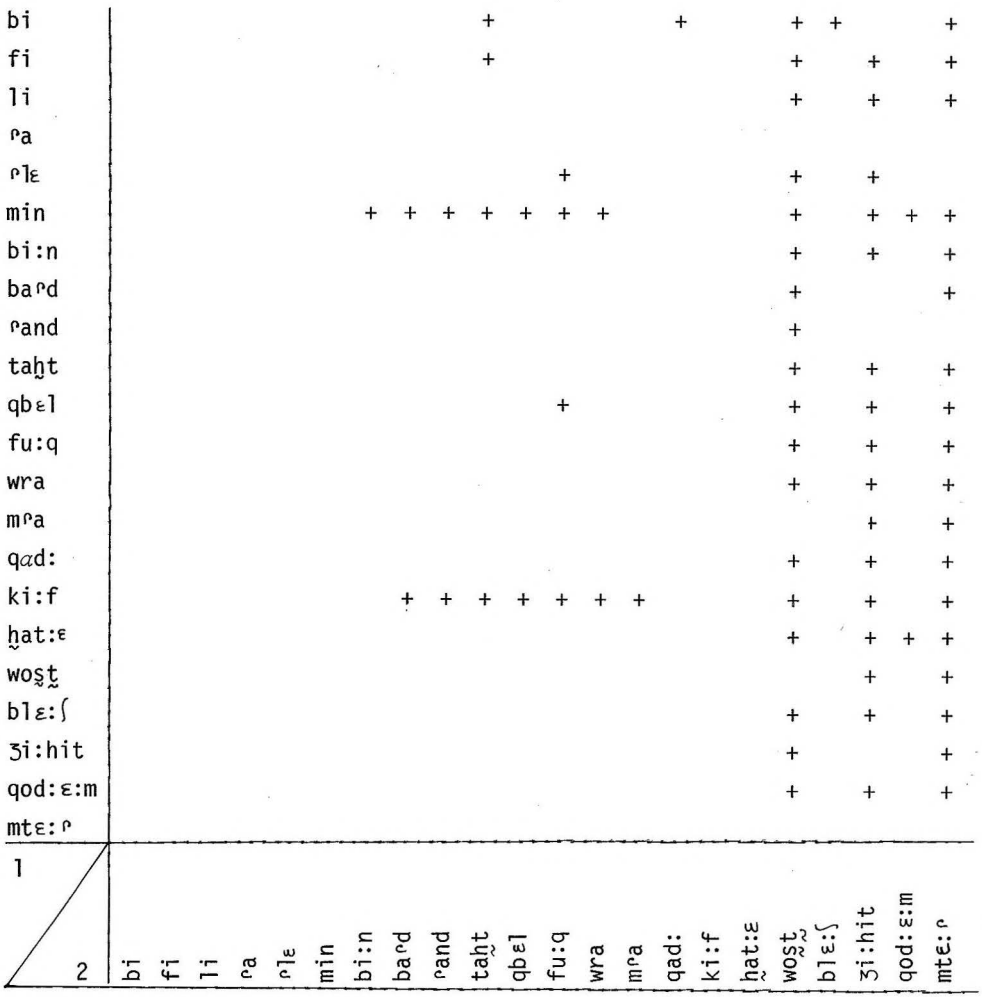
2.10.1.22 {mtɛ:ʔ} 'of'

This morpheme is used when forming an analytical genitival construct.

2.10.2 Compound prepositions

The prepositions [min], [mtɛ:ʔ] and [ki:f] possess more combinatory possibilities than other prepositions.

Figure 10: Possible preposition compounds



2.11 ADVERBS

The dialect of Sūsa has four classes of adverbial membership:

- Pure adverbs which do not share membership with any other form-class, e.g. [hnɛ] 'here'.
- Adverbs that are members of the adjective class, e.g. [mit:ax:ür] 'late'.
- Adverbs that are members of the noun class, e.g. [ilkuθra] 'the majority'.
- Adverbs that can occur as prepositions, e.g. [qbɛl] 'before'.

Adverbs can be subdivided into two subgroups: single and compound. In order to avoid overlapping only pure adverbs are listed below.

2.11.1 Single adverbs

2.11.1.1 Adverbs of time

Adverbs		Examples	
[tɛw:ɛ]	: now	[imʃi tɛw:ɛ]	: go now (imp.)
[tɛw: tɛw:]	: a moment ago	[rü:tu tɛw: tɛw:]	: I saw him a moment ago
[di:mɛ]	: always	[di:mɛ yɛ:kul]	: he is always eating
[bikrü]	: early	[mʃi:t bikrü]	: I went early
[fi:saʿ]	: fast, quickly	[klɛ fi:saʿ]	: he ate quickly
[baʿdikɛ:yɛ]	: afterwards	[klɛ baʿdikɛ:yɛ]	: he ate afterwards
[mɛzɛ:l]	: still	[mɛzɛ:l yaqra]	: he is still reading

The adverb */mɛzɛ:l/* can be inflected for aspect-tense and denotes past action.

Singular

3rd masc.	[mɛzɛ:l]
3rd fem.	[mɛzɛ:lit]
2nd c.	[mɛzilt]
1st c.	[mɛzilt]

Plural

3rd c.	[mɛzɛ:lu]
2nd c.	[mɛziltu]
1st c.	[mɛzilnɛ]

The adverb */mɛzɛ:l/* can modify a noun, a free personal pronoun, a verb in the imperfect or an adverb of place.

[mɛzɛ:lit mra] : she is still a lady

[mɛzilt inti] : it is still you

[mɛzilnɛ naqra:w] : we are still reading

[mɛzɛ:l hnɛ] : he is still here

2.11.1.2 Adverbs of place

Adverbs		Examples	
[hnɛ]	: here	[uqʶod hnɛ]	: stay here (imp.)
[ɣa:di]	: there	[yɛ:kul ɣa:di]	: he eats there
[il:u:t̲a]	: down	[t̲a:ḥ il:u:t̲a]	: he fell down
[ilbar:a]	: out	[uxroʒ ilbar:a]	: go out (imp.)
[it:ɛ:li]	: backwards	[imʃi t:ɛ:li]	: go backwards

2.11.1.3 Adverbs of manner

[hik:ɛ]	: like this	[aʶmil hik:ɛ]	: do like this (imp.)
[hik:ɛ:kɛ]	: like that	[iktib hik:ɛ:kɛ]	: write like that (imp.)

2.11.1.4 Adverbs of measure

[barʃɛ]	: much	[klɛ barʃɛ]	: he ate much
[ʃwɛy:ɛ]	: little	[yorqod ʃwɛy:ɛ]	: he sleeps little
[yɛ:sir]	: very	[bɛ:rüd yɛ:sir]	: very cold
[taqrü:b]	: about	[taqrü:b mi:tro]	: about one meter

2.11.2 Compound adverbs

2.11.2.1 Adverbs of time

[mim-bikrü]	: a moment ago	[ʒɛ mim-bikrü]	: he came a moment ago
[min-tɛw:ɛ]	: from now on	[min:tɛw:ɛ uʃrob ilmɛ]	: drink water from now on (imp.)

2.11.2.2 Adverbs of place

[min-hu:ni]	: from here	[ktib min-hu:ni]	: he wrote from here
[min-ɣa:di]	: from there	[ʒɛ min-ɣa:di]	: he came from there

2.11.2.3 Adverbs of manner

[bi-s:i:f][28]	: forcibly	[hɛz:hɛ bi-s:i:f]	: he took her forcibly

[28] The corresponding adverb to */bis:i:f/* in the Jewish dialect in Tunis, is [bəʃ:äyf], see D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, p. 239.

[bi-s:yɛ:sɛ] : kindly [kɛl:mu bi-s:yɛ:sɛ] : he spoke to him kindly

[bilʔa:ni] : purposely [kǒib bilʔa:ni] : he lied purposely

2.11.2.4 Adverbs of measure

[ʔal:aqɑl:] : at least [xamsɛ ʔal:aqɑl:] : five at least

2.11.3 Interrogative adverbs

2.11.3.1 Adverbs of time

[waqtɛ:ʃ] : when [waqtɛ:ʃ mʃɛ] : when did he go?

[nhara:ʃ] : which day [nhara:ʃ raʒʔüt] : which day did she come back?

[ʔamɛ:ʃ] : which year [ʔamɛ:ʃ mɛ:t] : which year did he die?

2.11.3.2 Adverbs of place

[wi:n] ~ [fi:n] : where [wi:n yuskun] : where does he live?

[lwi:n] : whereto [lwi:n mɛ:ʃi] : where are you going to?

[mni:n] : where from [mni:n ʒi:t] : where did you come from?

The adverbs /*wi:n*/ and /*fi:n*/ can be followed by personal suffixes.

[wi:ni] [wi:nik]

[wi:nu] [wi:nhɛ]

[wi:n:ɛ] [wi:nkum]

[wi:nhum]

2.11.3.3 Adverbs of manner

[kifɛ:ʃ] : how [kifɛ:ʃ xǒɛ] : how did he take (it)?

2.11.3.4 Adverbs of measure

[qɑd:ɛ:ʃ] : how much [qɑd:ɛ:ʃ rbiŋ] : how much did he win?

Apart from the adverbs of place all the other interrogative adverbs get the suffix /ʃ/. The final vowel is always lengthened when followed by /ʃ/.

2.12 CONJUNCTIONS

2.12.1 Coordinate conjunctions

Coordinate conjunctions link verbs, adverbs, nouns, pronouns, clauses, phrases and sentences of the same structure.

2.12.1.1 [wɛ] 'and'

{wɛ} has the following allomorphs:

Allomorph /w/ when occurring between two vowels or between a word ending in a vowel and an other beginning with a single consonant.

[ʃrɛ dʒɛ:ʒɛ w-ɛrnɛb] : he bought a hen and a rabbit

[mʃɛ-w ʒɛ] : he went and came back

Allomorph /u/ when occurring between a word ending in a consonant and an other beginning with a consonant followed by a vowel.

[h̰am:ɛl u bɛ:s] : he embraced and kissed

[fhim u ʒɛ:wib] : he understood and answered

Allomorph /wV/ when followed by a word beginning with two consonants. The vowel is /a/ when C_1 is a pharyngal or a laryngal and /i/ elsewhere.

[kɛlb wa ʔbɛ:d] : a dog and some people

[mra wa h̰mɛ:mɛ] : a woman and a pigeon

[mɛ wi bhɛ:yim] : water and donkeys

[mɛ wɛ hwɛ] : water and air

2.12.1.2 [wɛl:ɛ] 'or'

[mra wɛl:ɛ ra:ʒil] : a man or a woman

[kɛlb wɛl:ɛ bhi:m] : a dog or a donkey

2.12.1.3 [ɛm:ɛ]....[wɛl:ɛ] 'either or'

[ɛm:ɛ kɛlb wɛl:ɛ kɛlbɛ] : either a dog or a bitch

2.12.1.4 [wlɛ:kin] 'but'

[qra wlɛ:kin mɛnʒah̰əʃ] : he studied but did not succeed

2.12.1.5 [mɛ ɣü:r mɛ] 'without'

[mʃɛ mɛ ɣü:r mɛ dfaʔ] : he went without paying

2.12.1.6 [mɛ]....[kɛ:n] 'only'

[mɛ ra kɛ:n wildu] : he saw his son only

2.12.1.7 [ʔaks mɛ] 'the contrary of'

[ʔmɛl ʔaks mɛ qoltlu] : he did the contrary of what I said to him

2.12.1.8 [wiðɛbi] 'and then'

The linker {wiðɛbi} is always inflected for allocation and gets the final vowel lengthened when followed by a personal suffix.

[wiðɛbi:yɛ] [wiðɛbi:k]

[wiðɛbi:h] [wiðɛbi:hɛ]

[wiðɛbi:nɛ] [wiðɛbi:kum]

[wiðɛbi:hum]

[kɛ:nu fqɑ:ra wiðɛbi:hum tiɣnɛ:w] : they were poor and then they became rich

Only the most frequent and most characteristic conjunctions of the dialect are listed above.

2.12.2 Subordinate conjunctions

Subordinate conjunctions introduce dependent clauses only. There are two types of conjunctions: single and compound. The compound conjunctions consist of prepositions compounded with a relative pronoun.

2.12.2.1 [waqtɛl:i] 'when'

[mɛ:tit waqtɛl:i ʒɛ] : she died when he came

2.12.2.2 [ʔündmɛ] 'when'

[ktipt ʔündmɛ bʔaθli] : I wrote when he sent for me

2.12.2.3 [mɛl:i] 'since'

[mɛl:i mɛ:t bu:hɛ-w hi:yɛ tipki] : she has been crying since her father died

2.12.2.4 [qbɛl mɛ] 'before'

[mʃɛ qbɛl mɛ rü:tu] : he went before I saw him

2.12.2.5 [i:ðɛ] 'if'

[nxaʟ:ʂo i:ðɛ yqol:i] : I will pay him if he asks me to

2.12.2.6 [lukɛ:n] 'if'

[yitɣynɛ lukɛ:n yḫüb:] : he can become rich if he wants to

2.12.2.7 [bɛ:ʃ] 'in order to'

[mʃɛ il:i:byɛ bɛ:ʃ yixdim] : he went to Libya in order to work

2.12.2.8 [ʔlɛ xa:ṯür] 'because'

The conjunction {ʔlɛ xa:ṯür} can be inflected for allocation.

[yɛlʔab ʔlɛ xa:ṯro ṣɣü:r] : he is playing because he is young

2.12.2.9 [ʔlɛ ḥasb mɛ] 'according to'

[ḏarbu:h ʔlɛ ḥasb mɛ qal:i] : they hit him according to what he said to me

2.13 NEGATIVE PARTICLES

In the dialect of Sūsa, negation is expressed by different morphemes: {mɛ....ʃ}, {lɛ....wlɛ}, {ʔomr mɛ}, {miʃ} and {lɛ}.

The morpheme {mɛ....ʃ} occurs with verbs only. The suffix /ʃ/ is preceded by an epenthetic vowel when the verb ends in a consonant. Verbs having a final vowel get the vowel lengthened when followed by the suffix /ʃ/.

[mɛ ktibəʃ] : he did not write
[mɛ yaʔrafəʃ] : he does not know
[mɛ tɛdfaʔəʃ] : do not pay (imp.)
[mɛ fihmu:ʃ] : they did not understand
[mɛ yaqra:ʃ] : he does not read
[mɛ tiʃrü:ʃ] : do not buy (imp.)

The morpheme {lɛ....wlɛ} occurs with a multiple subject or a multiple predicate.

[lɛ ɛ:ni wlɛ hu:wɛ] : neither me nor him
[lɛ wildi wlɛ bintu] : neither my son nor his daughter
[lɛ ktib u lɛ qra] : he did neither write nor read
[lɛ ybi:ʔ u lɛ yiʃrü] : he does neither sell nor buy

The morpheme {ʔomr mɛ} is followed by perfective or imperfective verbs only. /ʔumrʔ/ is always inflected for allocation and has the phonemic shape /ʔumurʔ/ when followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant and the shape /ʔumrʔ/ elsewhere.

[ʔomrü mɛ rü:tu] : I have never seen him
[ʔomrük mɛ ʒi:tni] : you have never come to me
[ʔomro mɛ yɛdfaʔ] : he never pays
[ʔmurhɛ mɛ kitbitli] : she has never written to me
[ʔmurnɛ mɛ niʃrü:yu] : we never buy
[ʔmurkum mɛ dzuru:nɛ] : you (pl.) never visit us
[ʔmurhum mɛ yɛ:klu] : they never eat

The morpheme {miʃ} can never be followed by a verb, on the other hand it can precede any other word.

[miʃ kɛ:tib] : not writing
[miʃ bɛ:hi] : not good
[miʃ wildi] : not my son
[miʃ inti] : not you
[miʃ hnɛ] : not here
[miʃ fi:saʔ] : not fast
[miʃ mʔa:k] : not with you

The morpheme {miʃ} can also be inflected for allocation. There is an allomorph /*miʃ:*/ when the following suffix begins with a vowel and /*miʃ*/ elsewhere.

[miʃni] [miʃ:ik]
[miʃ:u] [miʃhɛ]
[miʃnɛ] [miʃkum]
[miʃhum]

The morpheme {lɛ} occurs in isolated position or followed by a negative particle.

[lɛ] : no
[lɛ miʃ ɛ:ni] : no, it is not me

Conclusion

Compared with other dialects the vernacular of the Medina of Sūsa has many features which apply to the great majority of the sedentary Western dialects but has also other more conservative characteristics making of the dialect a typical sedentary 'Sāḥli' vernacular. The dialect of Sūsa has the following peculiarities:

PHONOLOGY

- The prevasive influence of emphasis on the adjoining segments.
- The devoicing of some consonants when occurring in close juncture before voiceless consonants.
- The voicing of some consonants when occurring in close juncture before voiced consonants.
- The loss of short vowels in unstressed open syllables.
- The complete disappearance of the glottal stop.
- The monophthongisation of the older diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ in initial and medial position into /u:/ and /i:/.
- The preservation of the older diphthongs in final position where their second component is doubled when preceded by a short /a/.
- The occurrence of both /q/ and /g/ as proper phonemes.
- The occurrence of the alveopalatal fricative /ʒ/.
- The occurrence of interdentals.

PHONOTACTICS

- The possibility for any initial sequence to begin with a consonant, a short or a long vowel.
- The occurrence of two- and three-consonant clusters in initial and medial position and two-consonant combinations in final position.

VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

- The absence of dual form.
- The occurrence of a prefix /n(V)/ in the imperfect 1st p. sing.
- The occurrence of a suffix /u/ in the imperfect 1st p. pl.
- The occurrence of the verb form *fʿa:l*.
- The occurrence of the reflexive pattern *tifʿal*.
- The identicalness of the stem of the imperative with the imperfect stem.
- The occurrence of the forms /*xða*/, /*kla*/, /*ra*/ and /*ʒa*/.
- The use of the active participle form /*ʒa:y*/.
- The neutralisation of the morphological opposition between the 2nd p. sing., masc. and fem.
- The occurrence of vowel harmony in the imperative and the imperfect.
- The change of /ʔ/ into /h/ in Classical verbs with medial hamza.

NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

- The high frequence of substantive patterns CCVC and CVCC.
- The occurrence of the form /*zu:z*/.
- The productivity of the Turkish suffix /ʒi/.
- Adjectives having the pattern CCu and CCi get the feminine marker /w:a/ and /y:a/ respectively.
- The absence of the 2nd p. sing. fem. of personal pronouns.
- The occurrence of the personal pronoun form /*a:nɨ*/.
- The absence of the relative pronoun /*ad:i*/.
- The occurrence of two types of far demonstrative pronouns: pronouns denoting short distance and others denoting long distance.
- The absence of the indefinite article (/*wa:ḥid*/ + definite noun).
- The occurrence of cardinal numbers from 11 to 19 with morphophonemic shape ---n, when occurring in construct state.

Comparison between three different North African dialects

I PHONOLOGY[1] AND PHONOTACTICS

	Sūsa	Tunis (Jewish)	Cherchell
	Consonants		
Bilabials	b, m	b, b̰, m, m̰,	p, b, m
Labiodentals	f	f , v	f
Interdentals	θ, ð, ð̰		θ, ð, ð̰
Dental + (alveolars)	t, t̰, d, s, z, s̰, l, n, r	t, t̰, d, d̰, s, s̰ z, z̰, l, l̰, n, n̰	t, t̰, d, l, n, r, s, z, s̰
Palatals	ʃ, ʒ	ʃ, ʒ, r, r̰, k, g	ʃ, ʒ, k, g
Velars	k, g	x, ɣ	x, ɣ, q
Uvulars + (postvelars)	q, x	q	
Pharyngals	ʿ, ḥ	ḥ, ʿ	ḥ, ʿ
Laryngals	h		h
	Semi-vowels		
	w, y	w, y	w, y
	Vowels		
	i, u, a, i:, u:, a:	ə, ɑ, o, i:, u:, ɑ:	ɑ,ɑ̰,ɑ̰,ẹ,ĕ,o,ə,i,ḭ, ṵ,u,i:,ḭ:,ṵ:,u,o:, ɑ:,ɑ̰:
	Diphthongs		
	aw, ay	aw, ay	ɑi, ɑu
	Syllable patterns		
	V,V:,CV,CV:,VC,V:C CVC,CV:C,CVCC,CCVC CCV,CCV:,CV:CC, CCVCC,CCV:C,CCCVC CCCVCC	V:,CV:,VC,V:C,CVC CV:C,CVCC,CCVC, CCVCC,CCCVC,CCV:C, CCCVCC,CCCV:C	

[1] The author took the liberty of changing the transcription used by GRAND' HENRY and D. COHEN. Eventual divergencies in the classification of the sound phonemes in the different dialects depend mainly on the various views of the

Sūsa		Tunis (Jewish)		Cherchell	
Verbal Morphology					
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
ktib	yiktib	ktəb	yáktəb	kṭáb	yákṭəb
kitbit	tiktib	kátbət	táktəb	káṭbəṭ	ṭékṭəb
ktipt	tiktib	ktəbt	táktəb	kṭábṭ kṭábṭi	ṭékṭəb ṭěkkeṭbi
ktipt	niktib	ktəbt	náktəb	kṭábt	nékṭəb
kitbu	yikətbu	kátbu	yáktbu	káṭbu	yěk:éṭbu
ktiptu	tikətbu	ktábtu	táktbu	kṭábṭu	ṭěk:éṭbu
ktibnɛ	nikətbu	ktábnä	náktbu	kṭábnɑ	něk:éṭbu
Imperative					
iktib	ikətbu	áktəb	ákətbu	ákṭəb	ək:áṭbi ək:áṭbu
Participles					
kɛ:tib	mɛktu:b	kä:tib	məktu:b	kɑ:ṭəb	məkṭu:b
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
ʃɛd:	iʃid:	ʃəd:	iʃád:	məd:	yĭmɑ́d:
ʃɛd:it	tʃid:	ʃád:ət	tʃəd:	məd:ət	tmɑ́d:
ʃɛd:i:t	tʃid:	ʃəd:í:t	tʃəd:	məd:i:t məd:i:ti	ṭmɑ́d: ṭmɑ́d:i
ʃɛd:i:t	nʃid:	ʃəd:í:t	nʃɑ́d:	məd:i:t	nmɑ́d:
ʃɛd:u	iʃid:u	ʃád:u	iʃɑ́d:u	məd:u	yimɑ́d:u
ʃɛd:i:tu	tʃid:u	ʃəd:í:tu	tʃɑ́d:u	məd:i:tu	tmɑ́d:u
ʃɛd:i:nɛ	nʃid:u	ʃəd:ínä	nʃíd:u	məd:i:nɑ	nmɑ́d:u
Imperative					
ʃid:	ʃid:u	ʃəd:	ʃád:u	mɑ́d:	məd:i məd:u
Participles					
ʃɛ:did ~ ʃɛ:d:	mɛʃdu:d	ʃä́:dəd	məʃdú:d	-----	məmdu:d

authors about the manners of articulation. GRAND´HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, did not mention whether the above-mentioned vowels are proper phonemes or allophones.

Sūsa		Tunis (Jewish)		Cherchell	
		Verbal Morphology			
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
wzin	yu:zin	uʒə̄n	yū:ʒən	uqáf	yóuqəf
wiznit	tu:zin	wáʒnət	tū:ʒən	wǒqfəṭ	ṭouqəf
wzint	tu:zin	uʒə̄nt	tū:ʒən	uqáfṭ uqáfṭi	ṭóuqəf ṭəw:ǒqfi
wzint	nu:zin	uʒə̄nt	nū:ʒən	uqáfṭ	nóugəf
wiznu	yu:znu	wə̄ʒnu	yú:ʒnu	woqfu	yĭw:ǒqfu
wzintu	tu:znu	uʒə́ntu	tū:ʒnu	uqáfṭu	ṭəw:ǒqfu
wzin	nu:znu	uʒə̄n:ä	nū:ʒnu	uqáfnɑ	nəw:ǒqfu
		Imperative			
u:zin	u:znu	ū:ʒən	(ū:ʒnu)	óuqəf	əw:ǒqfi əw:ǒqfu
		Participles			
wɛ:zin	muzu:n	wä:ḫəl	muʒu:n	wɑ:qəf	mɑ̰uṣṵ:l
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
xa:f	ixa:f	xä:f	ixə̆:f	bɑ̰:ṭ	ibɑ̰:ṭ
xa:fit	txa:f	xä:fət	txə̆:f	bɑ̰:ṭəṭ	ṭbɑ̰:ṭ
xoft	txa:f	xöft	txə̆:f	bə̀ṭṭ bə̀ṭṭi	ṭbɑ̰:ṭ ṭbɑ̰:ṭi
xoft	nxa:f	xöft	nxə̆:f	bə̀ṭṭ	nbɑ̰:ṭ
xa:fu	ixa:fu	xə̆:fu	ixə̆:fu	bɑ̰:ṭu	ibɑ̰:ṭu
xoftu	txa:fu	xöftu	txə̆:fu	bə̀ṭṭu	ṭbɑ̰:ṭu
xofnɛ	nxa:fu	xöfnä	nxə̆:fu	bə̀ṭna	nbɑ̰:ṭu
		Imperative			
xa:f	xa:fu	xə̆:f	xə̆:fu	bɑ̰:ṭ	bɑ̰:ṭi bɑ̰:ṭu
		Participles			
xa:yif		xə́:yəf		bɑ̰:yĭṭ	

Sūsa		Tunis (Jewish)		Cherchell	
		Verbal Morphology			
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
bdɛ	yɛbdɛ	bdä	yə̄bdä	nsɑ	yensɑ
bdɛ:t	tɛbdɛ	bdä:t	tə̄bdä	nsɑ̣:ṭ	tensɑ
bdi:t	tɛbdɛ	bdi:t	tə̄bdä	nsi:ṭ nsi:ṭi	tensɑ tènsɑ:i
bdi:t	nɛbdɛ	bdi:t	nə̄bdä	nsi:ṭ	nensɑ
bdɛ:w	yɛbdɛ:w	bdä:w	yəbdə̄:w	nsɑ:u	yènsɑ:u
bdi:tu	tɛbdɛ:w	bdī:tu	təbdə̄:w	nsi:ṭu	tènsɑ:u
bdi:nɛ	nɛbdɛ:w	bdī:nä	nəbdə̄:w	nsi:nɑ	nènsɑ:u
		Imperative			
ɛbdɛ	ɛbdɛ:w	əbdä	əbdä:w	ənsɑ	ənsɑ:i ənsɑ:u
		Participles			
bɛ:di	mibdi	mä:ʃi	mə́bdi	nɑ̣:si	mə́nsi
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
ɣarbil	iɣarbil	ɣə̆rbəl	iɣə̆rbəl	tə́rdʒəm	yĭtə́rdʒəm
ɣarblit	tɣarbil	ɣə̆rbləṭ	tɣə̆rbəl	tə́rdʒməṭ	ṭtə́rdʒəm
ɣarbɛlt	tɣarbil	ɣə̆rbəlt	tɣə̆rbəl	tərdʒə́mṭ tərdʒəmṭi	ṭtə́rdʒəm ṭtə́rdʒmi
ɣarbɛlt	nɣarbil	ɣə̆rbəlt	nɣə̆rbəl	tardʒə́mṭ	ntə́rdʒəm
ɣarblu	iɣarblu	ɣə̆rblu	iɣə̆rblu	tə́rdʒmu	yĭṭə́rdʒmu
ɣarbɛltu	tɣarblu	ɣə̆rbə̄ltu	tɣə̆rblu	tərdʒə́mṭu	ṭtə́rdʒmu
ɣarbɛlnɛ	nɣarblu	ɣə̆rbə̄lnä	nɣə̆rblu	tərdʒə́mnɑ	ntə́rdʒmu
		Imperative			
ɣarbil	ɣarblu	ɣə̆rbəl	ɣə̆rblu	tə́rdʒəm tə́rdʒmi tə́rdʒmu	
		Participles			
ɣarbɛ:l	mɣarbɛl	mɣə̆rbəl		mtə́rdʒəm	

Sūsa		Tunis (Jewish)		Cherchell	
		Verbal Morphology			
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
bɛd:il	ibɛd:il	bə́d:əl	ibə́d:əl	d́əx:əl	yĭdə́x:əl
bɛd:lit	tbɛd:il	bə́d:lət	tbə́d:ə́l	də́x:lẹ̆ţ	ţdə́x:əl
bɛd:ɛlt	tbɛd:il	bə́d:əlt	tbə́d:ə́l	dəx:əlţ dəx:ə́lţi	ţdə́x:əl ţdə́x:li
bɛd:ɛlt	nbɛd:il	bə́d:əlt	nbə́d:əl	də́x:əlţ	ndə́x:əl
bɛd:lu	ibɛd:lu	bə́d:lu	ibə́d:lu	də́x:lu	yidə́x:lu
bɛd:ɛltu	tbɛd:lu	bəd:ə́ltu	tbə́d:lu	dəx:ə́lţu	ţdə́x:lu
bɛd:ɛlnɛ	nbɛd:lu	bəd:ə́lnä	nbə́d:lu	dəx:ə́lna	ndə́x:lu
		Imperative			
bɛd:il	bɛd:lu	bə́d:əl	bə́d:lu	d́əx:əl	d́əx:li d́əx:lu
		Participles			
mbɛd:il	mbɛd:ɛl	mbə̀d:əl		mdə̀x:əl	
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
ḫa:rüb	iḫa:rüb	fä́:tən	ifä́:tən	ḫa:r̰ab	yĭḫa:r̰ăb
ḫa:rbit	tḫa:rüb	fä́:tnət	tfä́:tən	ḫa:r̰bẹ̆ţ	ţḫa:r̰ăb
ḫa:rübt	tḫa:rüb	fätə́nt	tfä:tən	ḫa:r̰ắbţ ḫa:r̰abţi	ţḫa:r̰ăb ţḫa:r̰bi
ḫa:rübt	nḫa:rüb	fätə́nt	nfä́:tən	ḫa:r̰ắbţ	nḫa:r̰ăb
ḫa:rbu	iḫa:rbu	fä́:tnu	ifä́:tnu	ḫa:r̰bu	yĭḫa:r̰bu
ḫa:rübtu	tḫa:rbu	fätə́ntu	tfä́:tnu	ḫa:r̰ắbţu	ţḫa:r̰bu
ḫa:rübnɛ	nḫa:rbu	fätə́n:ä	nfä́:tnu	ḫa:r̰ắbna	nḫa:r̰bu
		Imperative			
ḫa:rüb	ḫa:rbu	fä́:tən	fä́:tnu	ḫa:r̰ăb	ḫa:r̰bi ḫa:r̰bu
		Participles			
mḫa:rüb		mᵖä́:nəd		mḫa:r̰ăb	

Sūsa		Tunis (Jewish)		Cherchell	
		Verbal Morphology			
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
tkɛl:ɛm	yitkɛl:ɛm	tkə́l:əm	yətkə́l:əm	ṭkḛ́l:əf	yĭṭkḛ́l:əf
tkɛl:mit	titkɛl:im	tkə́l:mət	tətkə́l:əm	ṭkḛ́l:fət	ṭəṭkḛ́l:əf
tkɛl:ɛmt	titkɛl:im	tkəl:ə́mt	tətkəl:əm	ṭkḛ́l:əft ṭkḛ́l:əfti	ṭəṭkḛ́l:əf ṭəṭkḛ́l:fi
tkɛl:ɛmt	nitkɛl:im	tkəl:ə́mt	nətkə́l:əm	ṭkḛ́l:əft	nəṭkḛ́l:əf
tkɛl:mu	yitkɛl:mu	tkə́l:mu	yətkə́l:mu	ṭkḛ́l:fu	yĭṭkḛ́l:fu
tkɛl:ɛmtu	titkɛl:mu	tkəl:ə́mtu	tətkə́l:mu	ṭkḛ́l:əftu	ṭəṭkḛ́l:fu
tkɛl:ɛmnɛ	nitkɛl:mu	tkəl:ə́mnə	nəkə́l:mu	ṭkḛ́l:əfnɑ	nəṭkḛ́l:fu
		Imperative			
itkɛl:im	itkɛl:mu	ətkə́l:əm	ətkə́l:mu	əṭkḛ́l:əf əṭkḛ́l:fi əṭkḛ́l:fu	
		Participles			
mitkɛl:im		mətʳə̆́d:əb		məṭkḛ́l:əf	
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
tsɛ:miḩ	yitsɛ:miḩ	tʳə̆́:ʒəb	yətʳə̆́:ʒəb	tsɑ:mə̆ḩ	yĭtsɑ:mə̆ḩ
tsɛ:mḩüt	titsɛ:miḩ	tʳə̆́:ʒbət	tətʳə̆́ʒəb	tsɑ:mḩḛ̆ṭ	ṭətsɑ:mə̆ḩ
tsɛ:miḩt	titsɛ:miḩ	tʳə̆:ʒə́bt	tətʳə̆́:ʒəb	ṭsɑ:mə̆́ḩṭ ṭsɑ:mə̆́ḩṭi	ṭətsɑ:mə̆ḩ ṭətsɑ:mḩi
tsɛ:miḩt	nitsɛ:miḩ	tʳə̆ʒə́bt	nətʳə̆́:ʒəb	tsɑ:mə̆́ḩṭ	nətsɑ:mə̆ḩ
tsɛ:mḩo	yitsɛ:mḩo	tʳə̆́:ʒbu	yətʳə̆́:ʒbu	tsɑ:mḩu	yitsɑ:mḩu
tsɛ:miḩtu	titsɛ:miḩ	tʳə̆ʒə́btu	tətʳə̆́:ʒbu	tsɑ:mə̆́ḩṭu	ṭətsɑ:mḩu
tsɛ:miḩnɛ	nitsɛ:mḩo	tʳə̆ʒə́bnə	nətʳə̆́:ʒbu	tsɑ:mə̆́ḩnɑ	nətsɑ:mḩu
		Imperative			
tsɛ:miḩ	tsɛ:mḩu	ətʳə̆́:ʒəb	ətʳə́:ʒbu	ətsɑ:mə̆ḩ ətsɑ:mḩi ətsɑ:mḩu	
		Participles			
mitsɛ:miḩ		mətʳə̆:ʒəb		mətsɑ:mḩi:n	

Sūsa		Tunis (Jewish)		Cherchell	
		Verbal Morphology			
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
tifʒaʳ	yitəfʒaʳ	tᵊfʒăʳ	yátᵊfʒăʳ	nᵊdʒrăẖ	yándʒrăẖ
tfɛʒʳüt	titəfʒaʳ	tfəʒʳət	tátᵊfʒăʳ	nᵊdʒăr̲ẖət	ṭnádʒr̲ăẖ
tifʒaʳt	titəfʒaʳ	tᵊfʒăʳt	tátᵊfʒăʳ	nᵊdʒr̲ăẖṭ nᵊdʒr̲ăẖṭi	ṭnádʒr̲ăẖ ṭandʒárẖi
tifʒaʳt	nitəfʒaʳ	tᵊfʒăʳt	nətᵊfʒăʳ	nᵊdʒr̲ăẖṭ	nnádʒr̲aẖ
tfɛʒʳu	yitfɛʒʳo	tfáʒʳu	yətfáʒʳu	ndʒăr̲ẖu	yandʒárẖu
tifʒaʳtu	titfɛʒʳo	tᵊfʒăʳtu	tᵊtfáʒʳu	nᵊdʒr̲ăẖṭu	ṭandʒárẖu
tifʒaʳnɛ	nitfɛʒʳo	tᵊfʒăʳnă	nᵊtfáʒʳu	nᵊdʒr̲ăẖna	nandʒárẖu
		Imperative			
itəfʒaʳ	itfɛʒʳo	ət:áfʒăʳ	ətfáʒʳu	ándʒr̲ăẖ	əndʒárẖi əndʒárẖu
		Participles			
mɛfʒu:ʳ					
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
ẖtɛ:ʒ	yaẖtɛ:ʒ	ḏʳa:f	yəḏʳá:f	ẖṭa:dʒ	yĭẖṭa:dʒ
ẖtɛ:ʒit	taẖtɛ:ʒ	ḏʳa:fət	təḏʳá:f	ẖṭa:dʒəṭ	ṭəẖṭa:dʒ
ẖtiʒt	taẖtɛ:ʒ	ḏʳăft	təḏʳá:f	ẖṭádʒṭ ẖṭadʒṭi	ṭəẖṭa:dʒ ṭəẖṭa:dʒ
ẖtiʒt	naẖtɛ:ʒ	ḏʳăft	nəḏʳá:f	ẖṭádʒṭ	nəẖṭa:dʒ
ẖtɛ:ʒu	yaẖtɛ:ʒu	ḏʳá:fu	yəḏʳá:fu	ẖṭá:dʒu	yĭẖṭa:dʒu
ẖtiʒtu	taẖtɛ:ʒu	ḏʳăftu	təḏʳá:fu	ẖṭádʒṭu	ṭəẖṭa:dʒu
ẖtiʒnɛ	naẖtɛ:ʒu	ḏʳăfna	nəḏʳa:fu	ẖṭádʒna	nəẖṭa:dʒu
		Imperatives			
ẖtɛ:ʒ	ẖtɛ:ʒu	əḏʳá:f	əḏʳá:fu		
		Participles			
muẖtɛ:ʒ		məʒyá:n		məẖṭa:dʒ	

Sūsa		Tunis (Jewish)		Cherchell	
		Verbal Morphology			
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
stɛḫsɛn	yistɛḫsin	ʃtă̆ʳʒəb	yəʃtă̆ʳʒəb	sṭăḫsḛ̆n	yĭsṭăḫsḛ̆n
stɛḫæsnit	tistɛḫsin	ʃtă̆ʳʒbət	təʃtă̆ʳʒəb	sṭăḫsnəṭ	ṭæsṭăḫsḛ̆n
stɛḫsɛnt	tistɛḫsin	ʃtă̆ʳʒábt	təʃtă̆ʳʒəb	sṭăḫsḛ̆nṭ sṭăḫsḛ̆nṭi	ṭæsṭăḫsḛ̆n ṭæsṭăḫsni
stɛḫsɛnt	nistɛḫsin	ʃtă̆ʳʒábt	nəʃtă̆ʳʒəb	sṭăḫsḛ̆nṭ	næsṭăḫsḛ̆n
stɛḫæsnu	yistɛḫæsnu	ʃtă̆ʳʒbu	yəʃtă̆ʳʒəbu	sṭăḫsnu	yĭsṭăḫsnu
stɛḫsɛntu	tistɛḫəsnu	ʃtă̆ʳʒábtu	təʃtă̆ʳʒbu	sṭăḫsḛ̆nṭu	ṭæsṭăḫsnu
stɛḫsɛn:ɛ	nistɛḫəsnu	ʃtă̆ʳʒábnä	nəʃtă̆ʳʒbu	sṭăḫsḛ̆n:a	næsṭăḫsnu
		Imperative			
stɛḫsin	stɛḫæsnu	əʃtă̆ʳʒəb	əʃtă̆ʳʒbu	əsṭăḫsḛ̆n əsṭăḫsni	əsṭăḫsnu
		Participles			
mistɛḫsin		məʃtă̆ʳʒəb		mæsṭăḫsḛ̆n	

Sūsa		Tunis (Jewish)	Cherchell
		Nominal Morphology	
		Personal Pronouns	
		Independent personal pronouns	
Singular			
3rd p. masc.	hu:wɛ	ú:wä (ŭw:ä)	hu:wɑ
3rd p. fem.	hi:yɛ	í:yä (ĭy:ä)	hi:yɑ
2nd p. masc.	inti	ə́nti	ə́nṭä, ənṭ:ɑ:yɑ
2nd p. fem.			ə́nṭi, ə́nṭi:yɑ
1st p. c.	ɛ:ni	ä́:nä	ṇ:nɑ, ṇnɑ:yɑ
Plural			
3rd p. c.	hu:mɛ	umä́:n	hu:mɑ:n
2nd p. c.	ntu:mɛ	(ə)ntumä́:n	ən tu:mɑ:n
1st p. c.	aḫnɛ	ə̄ḫnä	ḫná, ḫná:yɑ
		Bound personal pronouns	
Singular			
3rd p. masc.	-u, -h	-u, -(h)	-u, -h, -u:h, -hu:
3rd p. fem.	-hɛ	-ä, -(h)ä	-ă̈h, hɑ
2nd p. masc.	-k, -ik	-ə̆k, -k	-ḛk, -k
2nd p. fem.			
1st p. c.	-ni, -i, -ya	-ni, -i, -yä	-ni, -i, -yɑ
Plural			
3rd p. c.	-hum	-ə̆m (-ŏ̆m), -(h)ə̆m, -(h)ŏ̆m	-hŭ̆m
2nd p. c.	-kum	-kə̆m (-kŏ̆m)	-kŭ̆m
1st p. c.	-nɛ	-nä	-nɑ

Sūsa	Tunis (Jewish)	Cherchell
	Numerals	
	Cardinals	
wɛ:ḫüd	wä:ḫəd	wa:ḫəd
θni:n, zu:z	tnă̈:yn, ʒă̈wʒ	zu:dʒ
θlɛ:θɛ	tlă̈:tä	θlạ:θa
arbʳa	ă̈r̲bʳä, ʳă̈r̲ba	r̲ă̈:bʳa
xaṃsɛ	xă̈mʃä	xḛ̈msa
sit:ɛ	ʃə̈t:ä	sĭtṭa
sɛbʳa	ʃə̈bʳa	sə́bʳa
θmɛnyɛ	tmə̈nyä	θmḛ̈nya
tisʳa	tə̈ʃʳä	ṭəsʳa
ʳaʃra	ʳă̈ṣ̲r̲a	ʳăʃr̲a
ḫdɛ:ʃ	ḫdä:ʃ	ḫdạ:ʃ
θna:ʃ	ṭ̲nå:ʃ	θna:ʃ
t̲l̲at̲:a:ʃ	tlǒt:ă̈:ʃ	θləṭ:a:ʃ
arbʳat̲:a:ʃ	å̲rbʳaṭă̈:ʃ ~ ʳă̲rbå̲ṭă̈:ʃ	r̲bă̈ʳṭa:ʃ
xmast̲a:ʃ	xmŏṣ̲t̲å:ʃ	xməst̲a:ʃ
sit̲:a:ʃ	ṣ̲ǫt̲:ă̈:ʃ	sət̲:a:ʃ
sbaʳt̲a:ʃ	ṣ̲əbʳat̲:ă̈:ʃ	sbă̈ʳṭa:ʃ
θmant̲a:ʃ	t̲mǫnṭă̈:ʃ	θmənṭa:ʃ
tisʳat̲:a:ʃ	təṣ̲ʳaṭă̈:ʃ	tsă̈ʳṭa:ʃ
ʳüʃrü:n	ʳǫṣ̲r̲i:n	ʳă̈ʃri:n

Tunisian dialects

On the basis of the incomplete data furnished by the literature and by my informants, it seems possible to particularize the different Tunisian dialect groups and furthermore outline major dialect boundaries by using selected features of the dialects. However the division in this study is preliminary and based mainly on the socio-economic differentiation which is reflected in the contrast between /q/ and /g/ and the variation of the personal pronouns. Primarily the Tunisian dialects can be divided into two main groups: urban and rural.

I URBAN AND RURAL DIALECTS

The division between urban and rural is reflected in a geographical division between the coastal area of the North and Central-East for the former and the rest of the country for the latter.

1.1 URBAN DIALECTS

The urban and the rural dialects may be called (from the 3rd p. sing. of the perfect of the verb 'to say') qa:l- and ga:l-dialects respectively. The urban, or qa:l, dialects are spoken in Bizerte, Tunis, Nabeul, Enfida, Sūsa, Kairouan and Sfax.[1] Generally speaking these have:

- the velar stop /q/ in the verb */qa:l/*
- no gender opposition in sing. 2nd p. in free personal pronouns nor in any other pronouns or in the finite verbs.

1.2 RURAL DIALECTS

The rural, or ga:l, dialects have:

- the velar stop /g/ in the verb */ga:l/*
- a gender opposition in sing. 2nd p. as well as in all pronouns and finite verbs.

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[1] The dialects of Bizerte and Nabeul were not studied by the author.

II FURTHER DIALECTAL SUBDIVISION

Within each of the two above-mentioned regions there is a considerable variation which allows a further subdivision of the Tunisian dialects into four main groups.

2.1 NORTHERN DIALECTS

Northern dialects can be divided into three dialect groups: urban, rural and 'ɜba:li'-dialects (mountain dialects).

2.1.1 Urban Northern dialects

The dialect spoken in Tunis is a typical example of such a dialect type and has the following set of free personal pronouns:

Singular

3rd p. masc.	hu:wa
3rd p. fem.	hi:ya
2nd p. c.	enti
1st p. c.	ɛ:na

Plural

3rd p. c.	hu:ma
2nd p. c.	entu:ma
1st p. c.	aḥ̃na

2.1.2 Rural Northern dialects

The dialect spoken in LeKef is chosen by the author and is a typical rural Northern dialect with the following set of free personal pronouns.

Singular

3rd p. masc.	huw:ɛ
3rd p. fem.	hiy:ɛ
2nd p. masc.	ɛntɛ
2nd p. fem.	ɛnti
1st p. c.	nɛ:yɛ

Plural

3rd p. c.	hu:mɛ
2nd p. c.	ɛntum
1st p. c.	nɛḥ̃nɛ

2.1.3 'ʒba:li'-dialects

The villages and towns situated on the left side of Oued Medjerda use so-called 'ʒba:li'-dialects (mountain dialects) which have features in common with North East Algerian vernaculars. Aïn Draham which represents such a dialect type has the following set of personal pronouns:

Singular	
3rd p. masc.	huw:a
3rd p. fem,	hiy:a
2nd p. c.	enti
1st p. c.	ɛ:nɛ
Plural	
3rd p. c.	hom:ɛ
2nd p. c.	ɛntum
1st p. c.	naḥna

2.2 SĀḤIL DIALECTS

The Sāḥil dialects are of two main types: urban and semi-rural.

2.2.1 Urban dialects

Sūsa is a typical urban Sāḥil dialect but the dialect spoken in Enfida can also de regarded as urban though it has, like any dialect, other local peculiarities.

	Sūsa	Enfida
Singular		
3rd p. masc.	hu:wɛ	hu:wɛ
3rd p. fem.	hi:yɛ	hi:yɛ
2nd p. c.	inti	enti
1st p. c.	ɛ:ni	a:ni ~ nɛ:y
Plural		
3rd p. c.	hu:mɛ ~ humɛ	hu:ma
2nd p. c.	ntu:mɛ	entu:ma
1st p. c.	aḥnɛ	aḥna

2.2.2 Semi-urban dialects

The semi-urban dialects are spoken in small villages and display features of both urban and rural dialects. However the biggest part of the speakers use the uvular stop /q/ in the verb /*qa:l*/.

2.3 CENTRAL WESTERN DIALECTS

The Central Western dialects are subdivided into two groups: urban and rural. The only existing urban dialect type is spoken in Kairouan and it resembles in several respects the East Arabic vernaculars. Rural dialects are spoken in the remaining towns and villages.

2.3.1 Urban dialects

The only representative urban Central Western dialect is the vernacular spoken in Kairouan having the following set of free personal pronouns:

Singular	
3rd p. masc.	hu:wɛ
3rd p. fem.	hi:yɛ
2nd p. c.	ɛnti
1st p. c.	yɛ:nɛ
Plural	
3rd p. c.	hu:ma
2nd p. c.	intu:ma
1st p. c.	naḥna

2.3.2 Rural dialects

These are spoken in the remaining towns and small villages.

	Gafsa	Oueslatiya	Sbeitla	Sbikha	Sidi Amor bou Hajla
Singular					
3rd p. masc.	hu:wɛ	huw:ɛ	hu:wɛ	hu:wɛ	huw:ɛ
3rd p. fem.	hi:yɛ	hiy:ɛ	hi:yɛ	hi:yɛ	hiy:ɛ
2nd p. masc.	ɛntɛ	intɛ	ɛntɛ	entɛ	ɛntɛ
2nd p. fem.	ɛnti	enti	ɛnti	enti	ɛnti
1st p. c.	ɛnɛ:yɛ	nɛ:yɛ	nɛ	nɛ:yɛ	nɛ
Plural					
3rd p. c.	hum	hum	hum	hu:mɛ	hum

2nd p. c.	ɛntum	ɛntum	antum	ɛntum	ɛntum
1st p. c.	naŋna ŋnɛ:yɛ	naŋnu	naŋna	ŋnɛ:yɛ	naŋna

2.4 SOUTHERN DIALECTS

The Southern dialects may be derived into three main groups: urban, rural and nomadic.

2.4.1 Urban dialects

The dialect of Sfax is an urban Southern dialect and has the following set of personal pronouns:

Singular	
3rd p. masc.	hu:wa
3rd p. fem.	hi:ya
2nd p. c.	ɛnti
1st p. c.	ɛnɛ
Plural	
3rd p. c.	hawma
2nd p. c.	ɔntawma
1st p. c.	aŋna

2.4.2 Rural dialects

Rural dialects are spoken in the other remaining towns and small villages.

	Arram	Gabès
Singular		
3rd p. masc.	huw:ɛ	huw:ɛ
3rd p. fem.	hiy:ɛ	hiy:ɛ
2nd p. masc.	ente	intɛ
2nd p. fem.	enti	inti
1st p. c.	ene:	ɛni:
Plural		
3rd p. c.	hum:ɛ	hum:a
2nd p. c.	ɛntum	ɔntom
1st p. c.	ŋne	ŋne:

2.4.3 Nomadic dialects

Nomadic dialects are spoken by semi-pastoral people in Ksar Ghilane, Ḥaddada and Foum Tataouine.[1]

III CONCLUSION

Studied urban dialects[2]	Studied rural dialects
Tunis [tu:nis]	Le Kef [ɐlkɛ:f]
Enfida [en:fi:ǧa]	Sbikha [ṣbi:xa]
Sousse [su:sa]	Oueslatiya [waslatiy:a]
Kairouan [qürwa:n]	Sidi Amor Bou Hajla [si:di ʿmor bu ḥaʒla]
Sfax [ṣfa:qüṣ]	Sbeitla [ṣbü:ṭ̲la]
	Gafsa [gafsa]
	Gabès [gɛ:bis]
	Arram [ʿar:a:m]

The personal pronouns in urban dialects

Singular

3rd p. masc.	*/hu:wa/* where V_2 is [a] or [ɛ].
3rd p. fem.	*/hi:ya/* where V_2 is [a] or [ɛ].
2nd p. c.	*/anti/* where V_1 is [i], [e] or [ɛ].
1st p. c.	*/a:na/* where V_2 is [i], [a] or [ɛ]. The dialect of Sfax has [ɛnɛ].

Plural

3rd p. c.	*/hu:ma/* where /a/ is realized as [a] or [ɛ].
2nd p. c.	*/(a)ntu:ma/* where V_1 is [a], [ɛ] or absent. V_2 is [a] or [ɛ].[3]
1st p. c.	*/aṇna/* ~ */naṇna/*

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[1] The author could not reach the above-mentioned places for linguistic investigation due to security reasons.

[2] The dialect spoken in Aïn Draham is also urban and classified as a 'ʒba:li' vernacular.

[3] The vernacular of Sfax has [ntawma] and [hawma].

The personal pronouns in rural dialects

Singular

3rd p. masc.	/*hu:wa*/ where the phoneme /a/ is [a] or [ɛ].
3rd p. fem.	/*hi:ya*/ where the phoneme /a/ is [a] or [ɛ] .
2nd p. masc.	/*anta*/ where /a/ is realized as [e] or [ɛ]. V_1 is also [i].
2nd p. fem.	/*anti*/ where V_1 is [e] or [ɛ].
1st p. c.	[(ɛ)n ɛ:yɛ] ~ [nɛ]

Plural

3rd p. c.	[hum(:ɛ)] ~ [hu:mɛ]
2nd p. c.	/*antum*/ where /a/ is [a] or [ɛ].
1st p. c.	[naŋ̊nu] [naŋ̊na] [ŋ̊nɛ:yɛ] [ŋ̊nɛ] [ŋ̊ni:]

Gender distinction is preserved in all rural dialects, which is not the case in urban dialects where the contrast between 2nd p. sing. fem. and masc. is neutralised. The vowel /u/ in 2nd p. pl. is short in all rural dialects and long in the urban ones. However it should be noticed that /u:/ is replaced by the diphthong /aw/ in the Sfax dialect. Nomadic dialects are distinguished from rural and urban dialects by many peculiarities the most important of which is the use of the preposition {ᵖma} 'with' which is represented by {mᵖa} in rural and urban vernaculars.

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